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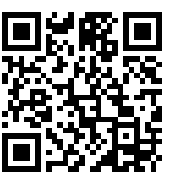

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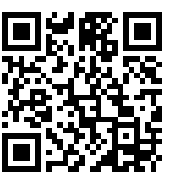

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LIFE OF ST. NICHOLAS

A THESIS

PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL IN
PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

MARY SINCLAIR CRAWFORD

PHILADELPHIA
1923

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FOREWORD

The life of St. Nicholas written by the early Norman poet, Wace, as here published is an exact diplomatic text of the manuscript preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris as number 902 of the *fonds français*. This manuscript has been chosen as the most complete and the one of greatest value heretofore unpublished. A critical edition with the variants offered by the other four extant manuscripts is in process of preparation.

The writer's deepest gratitude is here expressed to Dr. Jean Baptiste Beck, Professor of Romanic Languages in the University of Pennsylvania, under whose direction this work was begun at Bryn Mawr College, in 1918, and carried on at the University of Pennsylvania. The inspiration of his lectures and his scholarly counsel in literary research have added pleasure and understanding to the study of this literary age. I wish to thank Professor Hugo A. Rennert and Professor J. P. Wickersham Crawford, of the University of Pennsylvania, for their never-failing kindness throughout my Romanic studies, and also my sister for her encouragement generously offered at all times.

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I

SAINT NICHOLAS

The life of St. Nicholas, *Episcopus et Confessor*, is based entirely upon oral tradition. We find no contemporary historical documents recording it, and the first written legends known to us were composed about five hundred years after his death. According to the legend as first related by Methodius,[1] he was born in Patara,[2] in Lycia, Asia Minor, in the last part of the third century or early in the fourth century, the only son of wealthy parents who were known for their good deeds. In his childhood, he himself gave many signs of pious inclinations. Upon coming into his inheritance in his early manhood, he gave his wealth to the poor. One of the first stories related concerning him, was to the effect that on three successive nights, he threw gold from the street into a house to provide three poor, but virtuous young women with a marriage portion.[3]

It is believed that he was Bishop[4] of Myra in Lycia during the reign of Diocletian when he was put into prison, subjected to torture, and released only after the accession of Constantine. We find it expressly stated that he lived during the reign of Constantine: "*Constantin fu li emperes. . . . Encore adonc estoit seinz Nicholas en vie.*"[5] He was, therefore, a contemporary of St. Chrysostom. Many were the miracles ascribed to him during his life-time. Soon after his election as bishop, a great famine spread over the country, but from ships passing on their way to Alexandria St. Nicholas took enough grain to feed the country for two years, promising the sailors who were reluctant to give it, that on their arrival in Alexandria, they would find in their ships the original amount of grain. The sailors arriving

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[1] Patriarch of Constantinople, 842–846 A. D. Cf. Anal. Boll. II, p. 150, §20: Primus quidem aut inter primos scripsit de vita sancti Nicholai Methodius patriarcha græco sermone.

[2] *Patras* is the spelling in most MSS. A city named for Patara, son of Apollo.

[3] This story is related in every account of the life of St. Nicholas, and is the origin of the symbol of this saint, three bags of gold.

[4] In many early manuscripts, as in this of Wace, St. Nicholas is called archbishop. "Le titre d'archevêque n' est donné qu' à partir du IX^e siècle. Jusque-là, quoique la supériorité de l'évêque placé au chef-lieu de la province romaine fut reconnue, les évêque des chefs-lieux de province ne portoient pas un autre nom que celui d' évêque." *La vie Admirable de S. Nicolas*, Morlat, p. 49 n.

[5] MS. in Bib. Nat. Fonds Fran., 412, fol. 146 ro. a, see page 38.

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at Alexandria, found that this was true, and so were converted. He rescued the innocent from undeserved death and miraculously defeated Diana's revenge when he had provoked her enmity by abolishing the practices of her cult. Tradition says not only that he was present in his old age at the Council of Nicea (A. D. 325), but pictures him as the foremost figure of all, the outstanding opponent of Arius. "*Et el daerrein tens qe li seinz hom esteit en vie fu il au concile de Nique, mout vielz et mout de grant aage, uns des .318. peres qui i furent. De la s'en rala il a Myerre et vesqui puis mout petit.*"[6] His name, however, is not on the list of those attending this Council and he is not mentioned in this connection by a single ancient historian.[7]

The date of his death is given as December 6th, 342 A. D.: "*Il trespassa de cest siecle en l'an de l'incarnation nostre seignur, III et XLIII le quint an enpres la mort Constentin.*"[8] "*Il trespassa de cest siecle el mois de decembre as octaves ydes et adonc estoit Justiniens empereres qi crestiens estoit et nostre signor cremoit et amout; et CCC ans avoit et LX que nostre sires avoit receue passion, et seinz Machaires estoit adonc apostoiles de Rome. Li cors de Seint Nicholas fu enseveliz et enfoiz en la seinte meson de seint Syon en la destre partie de l'eglisse, et si ot riche sepouture et haute si com il covenoit a si seintime evesque. . . . Seint Syon estoit apelee l'abeie qe seinz Nicholas avoit fait et la estoit il adonques car il i sejornoit plus volentiers qu'en autre leu por ce qu'il l'avoit estoree en l'oneur deu et sa glorieuse mere l'abeie et la meson.*"[9]

At his death his tomb became a place of pilgrimage because of an oil with curative powers which flowed from it. "*Et de sa sepouture nessent, .II. fontenieles si com nos meimes avons veu et esgardé.*"[10], [11] Even more miracles were attributed to him after his death than during his life-time, and it became sufficient to invoke him to quell the violence of storm or plague.

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[6] MS. 412, fol. 153, Vo. a.

[7] *The History of the Eastern Church*, Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, London, 1894, p. 103.

[8] MS. Bib. Nat. Fonds Fran., 17229 fol. 12.

[9] MS. 412, fol. 148 a.

[10] MS. 412, fol. 148 a.

[11] The ruins of the Church of St. Nicholas at Myrra are adjoining a small convent inhabited by a few caloyers and are the only remains of the town of the Middle Ages. Plans and drawings of them are given in the Atlas of M. Charles Texier's Travels. The caloyers insist that they possess the remains of their patron saint.

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That his worship has been as far-reaching as the Greek and Roman Catholic Churches is proved by the fact that from the early Middle Ages St. Nicholas was a patron saint in Greece, Russia, Germany, Austria, Belgium, Netherlands, France (especially Normandy and Lorraine), the Kingdom of Naples, and Sicily. Before he became the special friend of students and youth, he was a patron saint of mariners, travelers, and merchants who must have carried his cult with them as they journeyed.

The oldest monument to his worship was the Church of St. Priscus and St. Nicholas in Constantinople built by Justinian.[12] From the sixth century there was public worship of St. Nicholas, for in this period we find churches dedicated to him in foreign lands. His name appears in the ninth century martyrologies of the Roman Catholic Church.[13]

The earliest mention of the worship of St. Nicholas in the West, is in French-speaking territory, at St. Amandus, fifty miles from Liege where as early as 679 a shrine was dedicated to St. Nicholas.[14]

In Germany his worship began under Otto II (955–983) whose wife, Theophana, the daughter of the Greek emperor, Romanus II, was of the Christian faith, when Bishop Reginald of Eichstadt (died 991) wrote a metrical (?) "*Vita S. Nicholai.*"[15]

"The rôle of a saint in the social life of the Middle Ages was important"; says Petit de Julleville,[16] "he was a protector and his relics, or even statues or pictures of him assured this protection; to gain it was not only protection from heaven, but also earthly prosperity." According to the accounts given in the *Legenda Aurea*, in the year 1087, forty-seven Italian merchants overpowered the four monks who guarded his tomb, stole the

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[12] *De Ædificiis*, by Procopius, historian, end of the fifth century, English translation by Aubrey Stewart, Palestine Pilgrim Texts, 1888.

[13] Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, Vol. 123, col. 175 ss.

[14] *New Theory Concerning Origin Miracle Play*, Coffman, p. 46.

[15] We have been unable to find a copy of this *Vita S. Nicholai.* See *Analecta Bollandiana* I, p. 501, and II, p. 143 ss.

[16] Petit de Julleville: *Les Mystères*, Vol. I, p. 11.

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saint's remains and carried them to Bari in Apulia.[17] Early in the twelfth century the Church of S. Nicolà at Bari became the shrine of the greatest of all pilgrimages to St. Nicholas from which his cult rapidly spread through Europe. The general belief is that it spread north from Italy after 1087, but Italy is not its only source.

At the outset, Normandy seems to have been the central point for the diffusion of the worship of St. Nicholas to other parts of France.[18] This has been explained by the fact that Bari had been settled by Norman colonists and that there was a close cultural relationship between the colony and the mother country.

Not only was Hilarius (1079–1142), the earliest known author of a Latin play on St. Nicholas,[19] a Norman, but a very early, and perhaps, the earliest life of the saint written in French was by Guace, or Wace, one of the very earliest Norman poets who wrote of national heroes; the most important of his other religious writings was "*La Conception Nostre Dame, dicte Feste aux Normans*" which deals with a church festival, the celebration of which originated in Normandy. In the opinion of one

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[17] In the year of our Lord 1087, the tenth indiction, on the nones of May, the body of St. Nicholas, archbishop and confessor, was translated from Myra to Bari. John, archdeacon of Bari, has eloquently related in what manner and by whom this translation was effected. Ordericus Vitalis, Vol. II, p. 384. (It bears this title: TRANSLATIO S. NICOLAI EPISCOPI EX MYRA LYCIÆ URBE AD APULIÆ OPPIDUM BARIUM VEL BARIM, SCRIPTA AB JOHANNE ARCHDIACONO BARENSI JUBENTE URSONE BARENSI ET CANUSINO ARCHIEPISCOPO, CIRCA ANNUM DOMINI 1088, APUD SURIUM DIE NONO MAII.) There is another contemporary account of this translation by Nicephorus, a monk of the convent of St. Benedict at Bari, published by Falconius in his ACTA PRIMIGENIA S. NICOLAI, of which the substance is given by Father Beatillo of Bari, in his history of St. Nicholas. Ordericus Vitalis, Vol. II, p. 384. Note.

Sixty persons were embarked in three ships, viz.: forty-seven inhabitants of Bari (among whom were two priests and a clerc, the others being merchants and armed sailors), a pilgrim and twelve foreign passengers. The ships were on their voyage to Antioch with cargoes of wheat for which they were to receive in return the products of the East for the merchants of Bari. On the voyage, they met eleven other vessels whose crews, like their own, had resolved on carrying off the relics of St. Nicholas. Order Vital., Vol. II, p. 385. Note.

[18] The worship of St. Nicholas spread with astonishing rapidity in Normandy. There is extant a manuscript of the age of Wace attesting the great faith placed in the saint. It contains an account of miracles performed in several churches of Normandy. It was written by a monk of Bec and is now preserved in MS. No. 132 of the library at Evreux. This contains also the works of John of Bari.

[19] Contained in MS. 22414, Brit. Mus., eleventh century: *Liber Sancti Godehardi in Hildesheim* edited by E. Dümmler: *Legenden vom heil, Nikolaus*, Zs. fur d. A, XXXV, 1891. See also *Hist. Litt de la France*, Vol. XII, pp. 251–254.

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critic,[20] Jean Bodel, the author of "*Le Jeu St. Nicholai*," at the end of the twelfth century, wrote under Norman influence. There was much in the accounts of the life of St. Nicholas that presented a peculiar appeal to the Normans. Many of the saint's miracles were performed at sea, or in behalf of sailors, and he was held in such reverence by the Normans, a sea-faring people, that he became the patron saint of sailors. The nautical vocabulary employed by Wace in his life of St. Nicholas, his descriptions of storms at sea, and the many journeys to which references are made, journeys in almost every instance by ship, must have had an uncommon interest to people familiar with the sea. He says:

> Seignurs, vous qui alez par mer,
> De cest baron oez parler
> Et qui en mer est tant aidable.
>
> St. Nicholas, 226–228.

As St. Nicholas was the patron of the sea-faring men, he became also the patron saint of the boatmen of the North. They spread his worship as they traveled over the rivers.

His worship followed the Scheldt, Meuse and Moselle Rivers, especial centers being Nancy, Metz and Arras. The very ancient hospice of Metz was dedicated to St. Nicholas and the Foundlings' Tower was placed so that the foundlings would seem to be placed under the care of the Saint who was the children's protector. From Normandy, the zone of the Saint's influence followed the frontier toward German-speaking countries.

The important part played by St. Nicholas in the life of the people of Medieval France is reflected in the literature of that period. His life and miracles were read as *lectiones* and furnished a complete set of anthems and responses for St. Nicholas day. These miracles became the themes of some of the earliest liturgical dramas. In the Fleuri Collection of ten liturgical dramas, four deal with miracles of St. Nicholas,[21] and there was no other

[20] *Beiträge zur Geschicte des Mirakelspiels in Frankreich, Das Nikolaus Mirakel:* O. Weydig, Erfurt, 1910 (Diss., Jena), p. 00.

[21] Orléans MS. No. 178 edited by Ed. de Coussemaker: *Drames Liturgiques du Moyen Age*, Paris, 1861.

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saint so frequently represented in drama from the time of these early liturgical plays of a solemn and religious character to that masterpiece of Medieval French drama, *Le Jeu St. Nicholai* by Jean Bodel. At first the *lectiones*, and later sermons in verse[42] and prose[43] made the people familiar with the incidents of his life; no fewer than 527 Latin hymns were composed and sung in his honor and in the *Legenda Aurea* he occupied a position second only to St. Andrew who opened the series. He became a leading hero of the epic material of the Church, in a sense, similar to the position that the French national heroes were soon to assume in national legends. The relationship between the Lives of saints and the Chansons de Geste cannot fail to appear from a study of this type of composition. His importance is shown by the fact that the educated classes of society, the clercs and students in general, chose him as their patron saint while they, in turn, from the nature of their social and intellectual position, contributed to his fame.

Thus the most important ways of spreading a cult were enlisted for St. Nicholas in Norman territory, by the sailors and river boatmen carrying his fame and, by the clercs and writers of the greatest literary centers of the time. Strange as it may seem, he is in the religious lore, the counterpart of the Virgin, his fame even having priority in point of time over hers. As a rule, epic and legendary deeds or miracles refer to people in high position—kings and princes, bishops and abbots—rather than to common people; those of St. Nicholas help the needy in all strata of society. As the Virgin is the celestial Mother of humanity, the world-helper, so St. Nicholas is the earthly friend of those in distress, in the inspired words of an antiphona of St. Nicholas day, of the eleventh century: *Sancte Nicholae, tu dulcedo pauperum, tu impar consolator miserorum, ora pro nobis. O per omnia laudabilem virum cuius meritis ab omni clade liberantur qui ex toto corde quaerunt illum.*

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[42] MS. Bib. Nat. Fonds Fran., 1555, *et al.*
[43] MS. Bib. Nat. Fonds Fran., 17229, *et al.*

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II

ST. NICHOLAS IN THE VARIOUS LITERARY GENRES DURING THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES

The noblest expression of religious exaltation of the Middle Ages was the artistic cycle of the High Mass. The essential genres of Medieval Romanic literature, if we eliminate the folkloristic element which plays an insignificant part in the evolution of literary genres, from the point of view of form, grew out of the first half of the Mass, as interpolations in vulgar speech were necessitated by the divergence between the Church Latin and the speech of the laity. These interpolations were first in Latin and musical, and were called *tropes*,[1] a term derived from the Greek TROPOS, a musical term denoting a melody, or in general, a musical change. The service thus became, as the laity said, "*farci.*"

A few of the tropes developed into liturgical drama, or better, dramatic liturgy, later into dramatic literature. Many Gregorian anthems and responses contained the germ of drama. Liturgical drama thus had its rise in the dramatic tropes of the ninth century. "Les tropes introduits au neuvième, au dixième siècle avec une abondance exubérante, dans les offices monastiques et d'où les premiers drames liturgiques sont immédiatement issus étaient donc, quoique sérieux et pieux d'inspiration et de texte, de veritable *farcitures*, de vraies *farsae*."[2] By the tenth and eleventh centuries, any part of the service might be *farci*. The *Vie St. Nicolas* from MS. 1555 of the Bibliothèque Nationale represents this genre of *épître farcie*. (See below, p. 12.)

Liturgical drama had three stages of development: (1) drama-

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[1] "It appears that the Trope, like the Sequence, originated in France, where from the tenth century onward, it enjoyed great popularity and was most eagerly cultivated. From there, it soon made its way to England, and to Northern Italy, later to Central and Southern Italy and became widespread in all these countries, less so, however, in Germany." Clemens Blume: Cath. Ency.: "Trope."

[2] M. Sépet: *Origines Catholiques du Théâtre Moderne*, p. 435.

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tized liturgical ceremonies by clergy and choir; (2) extra-liturgical plays by Clercs; (3) plays by *Confréries* and Guilds.

The first period of liturgical drama formed an integral part of the *officium* of the Church in honor of Christ, the Virgin or the saint in whose honor the Mass was being sung. The second period included plays which had the same religious character but no intimate relation to the office of the day.[3] There were few saints in the early periods of liturgical drama, St. Nicholas being a notable exception.

Among the earliest plays of this period were the St. Nicholas plays. "On verra plus tard que le drame français ne cessa pas non plus de le célébrer du XIII^{e} au XIV^{e} siècles."[4] These plays developed into the mystery plays.

The essentially musical *versus alleluiatici*, and the tropes modeled upon them and called Sequences developed into lyric poetry. The desire became general in monasteries where sequences were written to make the words as beautiful as possible in praise of the Almighty. These combinations of authentic alleluia music with appropriate new words formed a magnificent and new kind of poetry of worship. These Sequences differed from hymns in that the hymn had but one melody repeated with each stanza, while the melody of the sequence was in couplets of two stanzas each, changing from one couplet or pair to the other. Christian hymnody was essentially a poetry intended for the people, and, therefore, had a more popular and primitive form than the more dignified and scholarly Sequence sung by the choir. A very popular meter was the iambic dimeter with alternating rhythm which, being the rhythm of the human step and pulse, was, therefore, a most natural one. It was no longer the quantity of the syllable but the natural accent of the word which was the dominating principle. Although it was held in some disdain by the learned of the times, it had a depth of poetic feeling which gave it permanent beauty. There was widespread development of hymnody during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. As early as the eleventh century we find a number of such trope-sequences in honor of St. Nicholas, col-

[3] Ed. de Coussemaker: *Drame Liturgique au Moyen Age*, Paris, 1861, p. X.
[4] Petit de Julleville: *Les Mystères*, Vol. I, p. 70.

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lected in the *Analecta Hymnica*, Vol. 53, Nos. 197, 198, 199, 243. The substance of these Trope-Sequences is nothing but the transwriting in Trope form of the earlier anthems of the St. Nicholas Officium, relating the outstanding achievements of the saint.

The Troped Epistle commonly called "*Epître Farcie*" developed into epic literature, that is, the relating of the miracles and noble deeds, at first of saints within the Church, later of heroes outside of the Church. As the reading of *Lectiones* and Epistles in Latin became unfamiliar to the congregation, a few explanatory lines were interpolated in the vernacular, and the epistle thus explained was called an "*Epître Farcie.*" These epistles were sung principally on patron-saints' days and other days belonging to the class of: *In festis solemnibus* or *In festis duplicibus*. Their popularity became so great that they were forbidden, "*nisi in festo S. Nicolai aliisque perpaucis.*"[5] The prohibitions by the Church authority show it was considered an abuse. Was this due to its excessive length?

The "*Epître Farcie*" sometimes grew into rimed sermons, and such rimed sermons were delivered in French churches as late as 1632 in "*vieilles rimes françaises.*"[6] Such would, at first sight, seem to have been the life of St. Nicholas by Wace. Its introduction that the people must be taught by the clercs:

Deiuent li clerc mustrer la lei
Parler del seint, dire purquei
Chescone feste est controue
Chescone a sunur gardee. St. Nicholas, 3–6.

that they must listen respectfully,

Bonement deiuent esculter
Quant il oient de deu parler. St. Nicholas, 21–22.

are arguments in favor of its being a rimed sermon. This view is also supported by the didactic nature of the teaching:

Petit pendra qui sert petit,
Si cum l'escristure le dit. St. Nicholas, 33–34.

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[5] DuCange, Glossarium ad Scriptores Mediæ et Infimæ Latinitatis, ed., 1885, under *Farsia*.
[6] Hist. Litt., Vol. XXIII, p. 252.

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Si done deus deuersement
Diuers dons a diuerse gent.
Chescon deit mustrer sa bonte
De ceo que deus lui ad done. St. Nicholas, 13–16.

as also the purpose of the composition

Que li lai le puissent aprendre
Qui ne poent latin entendre. St. Nicholas, 43–44.

The great length of the poem, 1500 lines as the original must have been, might argue against its having been a sermon delivered in the usual course of the service. It would have required almost two hours to have preached it, but as it was for St. Nicholas day, it may well have been given in its entirety, since the length of such patron-day services is a well-known fact. In speaking of St. Alexis, a similar composition, G. Paris says: "Ces compositions étaient faites pour être lues tout haut dans les réunions un peu nombreuses le dimanche, par exemple, sur la place, ou les jours de marché. Plus tard, elles cessèrent d'être répandues de cette façon et ne servirent plus qu'à la lecture privée; c'est à ce but que sont destinées toutes les copies que nous possédons."[7]

The Normans were a people whose interest lay in didactic, historical and religious works as their literature shows, as contrasted with the love-lyrics of the singing poets of Provence or the courtly romances of central France. Even before Wace, a young monk, Jean, deacon and monk of St. Ouen, when he was but twenty years old, had written in prose and in verse a life of the saint. Jean was secretary of the Council of Rheims held in the year 1119, and his life of St. Nicholas was written before that year.[8]

To sum up, we see St. Nicholas in Normandy providing the subject matter for the local legends, and so assuming a rôle similar to that of a national hero in a secular Chanson de Geste; thus, in the life of St. Nicholas by Wace, a Norman, we have

[7] St. Alexis, p. 329–330; G. Paris, L. Pannier, Paris, 1872.
[8] Hist. Litt., Vol. VIII, p. 445. We have not been able to see this "Life of St. Nicholas," by Jean diacre de St. Ouen.

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one of the earliest sacred epic poems which developed from the legendary treasures of the Church.

In this brief genetic study, we find St. Nicholas first represented in the *Vitae Patrum*, in the form of *Lectiones*. From these *Lectiones* the most typical facts were chosen to build up the lyric *Antiphonae*, *Responsoria* and *Versus* for the *Officium* of St. Nicholas day in the Church. These strictly liturgical songs furnished the substance for the Tropes and Sequences, out of which grew the lyric, epic and dramatic Latin compositions of the eleventh century. From the early twelfth century on, in conjunction with the older *Lectiones*, the writings on St. Nicholas in the vernacular, in the form of *Epîtres Farcies*, of dramatic settings, and of edifying reading matter in prose (*Legenda Aurea*), are based upon the same sources. Thus the Nicholas subject furnishes us with the unique instance whereby we can trace back a series of literary works belonging to the main literary genres known to the Middle Ages, to the liturgical *Officium* of the Church, with an uninterrupted chain of documentary evidence dating back as far as the ninth century, A. D.

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III

WACE, AUTHOR OF THE LIFE OF ST. NICHOLAS

Few provinces were so fortunate as Normandy in having an early historian of such talent as Wace. His great importance is due to the fact that instead of writing in Latin like the other educated men of his day, he was among the first and ablest to introduce the vernacular which gained for him a much larger audience. This was precisely his purpose as he himself explains:

> Que li lai le puissent aprendre
> Qui ne poent latin entendre. St. Nicholas, 43–44.

The exact date of his birth is not known, but Gaston Paris puts it at about the year 1100 while Hugo Andresen, in his introduction to his edition of Wace's *Rou*, places it at about 1124. His death occurred in the year 1174 or shortly after, for the last historical event mentioned by Wace was the siege of Rouen of that year. Fortunately, his poems contain quite a number of autobiographical data. Thus, collecting the information he gives about his life, we learn that he was a Norman, born on the Island of Jersey:

> Jo te dirai qui io sui,
> Wace de l'isle de Gersui,
> Qui est en mer vers occident,
> Al fieu de Normendie anent. (Rou 5321–24.)

Leaving Jersey when a very small child, he went to Normandy:

> A Chaem fui petiz portez,
> Illoques fui a letres mis,
> Pois fui longues en France apris.
> Quant io de France repairai
> A Chaem longues conversai.
> De romanz faire m'entremis
> Mult en escrise, mult en fis. (Rou 5326–5332.)

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Having become a "clerc lisans," *i. e.*, a reader to the King or Duke, whether in Paris or in Caen, we do not know, he worked in Caen, writing and having scribes write for him. He gives the setting of this part of his life:

Nies fu el primerain Henri
E pere el tiers; toz treis les vi.
Treis reis Henris vi e congnu,
E clerc lisans en lur temps fu.
Des Engleis furent rei toz treis
E toz treis furent dus e reis;
Reis d'Engleterrè par cunquie
Et dus furent de Normandie. (Rou II, 177–184.)
Mult soleient estre onuré
E mult preisié, e mult amé,
Cil ki li gestes escriveient (Rou II, 143–146.)
E ki les estoires feseient,
Ne truis guaires ki rien me dunt (Rou II, 35–36.)
Fors li reis Henris li secunt;
Cil me fist duner, Deus lui rende
A Baieus une provende. (Rou II, 171–174.)

As subjects for his writings, he chose men and women of his province both secular and religious, national heroes and saints. The works known as having been written by him are:

LE ROMAN DE ROU ET DES DUCS DE NORMENDIE, a poem of 11503 lines giving the history of Normandy beginning with Rollo, first duke of Normandy. The editions of this are:
Le Roman de Rou et des Ducs de Normandie, F. Pluquet, 2 vols., Rouen, 1827, 1829.
Master Wace, his Chronicle of the Norman Conquest from the Roman de Rou; Pickering, London, 1837.
Maistre Wace's Roman de Rou et des Ducs de Normandie, H. Andresen, Heilbronn, Vol. I, 1877; II, 1879.

LE ROMAN DE BRUT, GESTE DES BRETONS, a poem of 8386 lines, giving the early history of England beginning with the eponymous ancestor of the English. This has been edited: *Le Roman de Brut par Wace*, by Le Roux de Lincy, Rouen, 1836.

LA CONCEPTION NOSTRE DAME DICTE LA FESTE AUX NORMANS,

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a poem of 1804 lines giving the history of the origin of this *fête* first established in Normandy. The editions are:

L'Etablissement de la fête de la Conception de Nostre Dame, dite fête aux Normands par Wace; Mancel et Trébutien, Caen, 1842.

La Vie de la Vierge Marie de Maître Wace, suivie de la Vie de Saint George, V. Luzarche, Tours, 1858.

VITA BEATI GEORGII MILITIS, a poem of 476 lines giving the history of the life and death of St. George. This poem was edited by V. Luzarche in the last quoted publication.

LA VIE SAINTE MARGUERITE: the title and introduction are lacking in the manuscript. This is an incomplete poem of 420 lines. The popularity of this saint was due to the belief that a copy of her life had curative powers; if laid on a sick person, it relieved pain. The edition is:

La Vie de Sainte Marguerite, poème inédit de Wace, A. Joly, Paris, 1879.

Finally, a poem of 1491 lines, describing the life, death and miracles of St. Nicholas under the headings: *De sancto Nicholas* (C), *Li livres de saint Nicolai* (E), and *Les miracles de seint Nicholas* (B). The editions[1] are:

Mélanges Publiés pour la Société des Bibliophiles Français, Laborderie et Mommerqué, Vol. VII, 1834, Paris.

Maistre Wace's St. Nicholas, Ein altfranzösisches Gedicht des zwölften Jahrhunderts aus Oxforder Handschriften. Dr. Nicolaus Delius, Bonn, 1850.

There are also ascribed to Wace by A. Joly, but not by later scholars,[2] two inedited poems contained in the manuscript of Tours, No. 927: *La Vie St. Gregoire* and *Traduction des Distiques de Cato.*

In our manuscript of Wace's St. Nicholas, he names himself as the composer of the poem:

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[1] Paul Meyer, Rom. XXIII, p. 5, selects examples from Wace's St. Nicholas, putting in parentheses, "*Mommerqué, Delius, Cahier.*" We have been unable to find the text by Cahier or any further references to it; P. Meyer uses quotations from Delius only.

[2] "L'attribution de ce poème à Wace n'est pas absolument certaine": La Grande Encyclopédie, Vol. 31, p. 1159.

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Jo sui normanz, si ai anon Guace.[3] St. Nicholas, 35.

and he informs us that he has been requested to write "en romance," *i. e.*, a work written in the vernacular, of the miracles of the saint:

Dit me est et roue que io face
De seint Nicholas en romance
Qui fist miracles bels et granz. 36–38.

He explains the purpose of his writings:

A ces qui nunt lectres aprises,
Ne lur ententes ni ont mises,
Deiuent li clerc mustrer la lei,
Parler del seint, dire purquei,
Chescone feste est controue[e]. 1–5.

The sources are also given:

. . .De ceo que nus le latin dit. 42
Ne nus ne trouom pas escriz,
Ne nus nes auom tout oiz. 1484–1485.

He names the person for whom he is writing:

Qui fait (faut) le liure mestre guace
Al oes Robert[4] le fiz Tiout
Qui seint Nicholas mult amout. 1475, 1478–1479.

This poem was probably his first long poem and was written about the year 1150.[5] Choosing widely known and popular subjects, Wace thus became an author of great influence.

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[3] It is interesting to note that in all three manuscripts containing this reference, the name is spelled *Guace*, and not Wace. This is the more striking since two of these manuscripts were unquestionably written in England and the third one also betrays an Anglo-Norman copyist. If the name of our poet had been Wace, it is hard to explain why an Anglo-Norman copyist should have given it the continental French form Guace. We should prefer to abide by the evidence of our texts and call him Guace, were it not that the form Wace has been generally accepted.

[4] This patron of Wace is generally accepted as having been Robert the Magnificent. It cannot have been he as he died, on his return from a pilgrimage, in 1035, and the date of Wace's birth is almost a hundred years later. This confusion has probably been due to Wace himself whose maternal grandfather, he tells us, was a chamberlain in the household of the Duke of Normandy:

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Tosteins ki ert ses chamberlencs
De sa chambre maistre gardeins Rou II, 3132–3133.
De par mamere fu mis aines.

Rou II, 3239 (corrected reading by G. Paris, of Andresen's reading, Rom. IX, p. 592).

This patron of Wace was Robert, fourth son of Louis le Gros as we learn from putting together the information given, for the most part, by contemporary historians. Ordericus Vitalis who was born in 1075, says in his Latin chronicle: "Philip reigned after his father's death forty-seven years and espoused Bertha, daughter of Florence, Duke of Frisia, who bore him Louis Theobald and Constance. (Eccles. Hist. of England and Normandy, Vol. II, p. 348.) "Three years afterward, Philip, king of the French, departed this life, and Louis Thibault obtained the crown and has now reigned twenty-nine years." *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 154.

Louis Thibault, *i, e.* Louis le Gros (Louis VI), married Adelaide of Savoy. Of this marriage there were seven sons: Philip who died (from an accident) at the age of fifteen in 1131; Louis VII, successor to his father; Henry, monk of Clairvaux, Bishop of Beauvais, Archbishop of Rheims Robert, chief of the royal branch of Dreux,died 1188; Peter who married Isabelle de Courtenay; Philip, dean of the church at Tours; Hugues, of whom history appears to be silent.

"Robert I, dit le Grand, mort le deux octobre, 1188. Il obtint le comté de Dreux, soit de son père en 1132, soit de son frère Louis VII, en 1137. . . . En 1153, il fonda la ville qui de son nom, fut appelée Brie-Comte-Robert (Braia Comitis Roberti). En 1159 . . . le comte de Dreux et Henri, son frère, évêque de Beauvais, opposèrent une ferme resistance à Thibault V, comte de Blois et de Champagne, et franchissant à leur tour les frontières de la Normandie, y portèrent le fer et le feu. Ce fut à la même époque que Robert accorda à la ville de Dreux une chartre de commune. Il fonda vers le même temps l'église Saint Thomas du Louvre à Paris. Protecteur des lettres autant que l'époque le comportait, il voulut qu'il y eût dans cette église un hôpital pour les écoliers pauvres, sous la direction d'un maitre chargé de présider à leurs études et de pourvoir à leur entretien. . . . On grava sur la tombe de Robert I er ce distique:

Princeps Robertus mira pietate refertus
Hic jacet : heu noli plura rogare, tacet.

(Nouvelle Biographie Générale depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours, Paris, 1862, under "Robert de Dreux.")

We find also a record of a charter signed by "Robert, son of Theobald": "Earl Robert (Roger de Montgomery) granted this charter and ratified it with his signature and after him it was subscribed at Alençon by his sons, Robert (Robert, Count of Alençon), and Hugh (Hugh de Montgomery, Earl of Shrewesbury), and Philip, the scholar (Philip, the grammarian, who died at the siege of Antioch in the First Crusade in 1098), and by others, his chief officers, *Robert, son of Theobald*, and Hugh, his son . . . and several others." Order. Vital., Vol. II, p. 197. Roger de Montgomery died July 27, 1094 or 1095, therefore, the date of the charter cannot be later than 1095. Robert, son of Louis VI cannot have been this "Robert, son of Theobald," who signed the charter of Roger de Montgomery, for the former died in 1188, while the latter was a "chief officer" about 1094. It was undoubtedly, Robert, son of Louis VI who was the patron for whom Wace wrote the St. Nicholas because by his age, position, wealth and interests (a protector of clercs) he fulfills all the requirements. The possible objection that he was a Frenchman while Wace was a Norman may be doubly met, first that Wace had long been a student in Paris where Robert was a patron of clercs, and secondly, in 1153, about the time Wace was writing the St. Nicholas, Robert was in Normandy, even establishing a town there, and Robert has come down in history by his Norman title only, Robert, Comte de Dreux.

[5] See discussion on his life by G. Paris, Rom. IX, p. 592.

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IV

THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE *DE SANCTO NICHOLAO* BY WACE

There are five manuscripts of this life of St. Nicholas by Wace. They are, with their sigils:

MS. A. Bodleian Library, Oxford, Douce Collection, No. 270. "Le plus ancien et le meilleur est le Ms. Douce qui est la base de l'édition donnée par Delius en 1850."[1]

MS. B. Bodleian Library, Oxford, Digby Collection, No. 86 which is a MS. of the "late thirteenth century."[2] A detailed description of this manuscript has been given by E .Stengel.[3] Professor Skeat is of the opinion that the scribe was a Norman,[4] but P. Meyer says this manuscript is of English origin.[5]

MS. C. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Fonds Français, No. 902, fol. 117, Vo b.

MS. D. Trinity College, Cambridge, B 14, 39–40, a manuscript of the thirteenth century,[6] belonging to the family of the Digby MS. (B).

MS. E. Arsenal, Paris, No. 3516, fol. 69, Vo.

The life of St. Nicholas from the two manuscripts preserved in Paris (C and E) was published by Labordérie and Mommerqué in 1834 as a supplement to their edition of *Li Jus St. Nicolas*, by Jean Bodel.[7] The life of St. Nicholas from the two Oxford manuscripts was published by N. Delius[8] who was unable to compare them with the Trinity College manuscript which was

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[1] P. Meyer, Rom., XXXII, p. 24.
[2] J. Vising, *Anglo-Nonm. Litt.* p. 92.
[3] *Codicem manu scriptum Digby 86 descripsit*, Stengel, Halis, 1871.
[4] James, Catalogue, Vol. I, p. 49.
[5] P. Meyer, Rom., XXXII, p. 24.
[6] J. Vising, *Anglo-Norm. Litt.* p. 95.
[7] Labordérie et Mommerqué: *Mélanges publiés pour la Société des Bibliophiles français*, Paris, 1820–1834, Vol. II.
[8] *Maistre Wace's St. Nicholas, Ein altfranzösisches Gedicht des zwölften Jahrhunderts aus Oxforder Handschriften*, Dr. Nicolaus Delius, Bonn, 1850.

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lost at the time.[9] The edition by Labordérie and Mommerqué was not available for Delius, but both of these editions were known to H. Andresen who says: "Alle diese Ausgaben sind höchst verdienstvoll, lassen aber, was Textkritik anbetrifft, manches zu wünschen übrig."[10] Paul Meyer says:[11] "Le ms. de l'Arsenal a été reproduit par Mommerqué, 1834, pour la Société des Bibliophiles français qui, à cette époque tirait ses publications à trente ou quarante exemplaires." In this article, Paul Meyer also says: "un seul, celui de l'Arsenal a été exécuté en France; les quatre autres sont d'origine anglaise. Le plus ancien et le meilleur est le ms. Douce, qui est la base de l'édition donnée par Delius en 1850. Delius a fait usage du ms. Digby et regrettait, comme on l'a vu, de ne pas pouvoir consulter le ms. de Trinity déjà disparu . . . si Delius n'a pas pu utiliser le texte de Trinity, son édition n'y a pas beaucoup perdu, car la leçon qu'offre ce ms. est incomplète et bien souvent fautive." Delius seems to have known of MS. No. 902 which he mentioned in a foot-note, without having used it for the establishment of his text.

Our manuscript *C.* Paris B. N., *Fonds Français*, No. 902, is a volume handsomely bound in red leather and bearing the title "*La Bible.*" On the cover is stamped in gold the coat of arms of Colbert, and on the back his monogram, under a gold crown, is stamped four times. On the first page is written "Recueil d'Anciennes Poésies," followed by the index of the contents.[12] The "De Sancto Nichalao" is number five and occupies the folios 117 vo, col. b to 125 vo, col. b.

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[9] The Trinity College manuscript was lost for thirty-three years, having been packed with the books of a Fellow of Trinity College, and recovered when his books were opened at the time of his death. It is now in Trinity College, see James, Catalogue of Trinity College, Vol. I.

[10] H. Andresen: *Maistre Wace's Roman de Rou et des Ducs de Normandie*, Vol. I.

[11] P. Meyer, Rom., XXXII, p. 24 and foll.

[12] The *Catalogue des manuscrits français*, tome I, Paris, 1868, p. 152 ss, gives the following table of contents:

1. *La Genèse, l'Exode, Josué, les Juges, Ruth*, et les *Rois* jusqu'au règne d'Ezéchias (livre IV), traduction commençant par;

"*Al rei de glorie, a Deu omnipotent*
Ke maint senz fin e senz comensement. . . . et" finissant par:
"*De cest rei nus estat entrelever*
Et de cels de Israel avant parler." A la suite (fol. 96), le recit en prose latine d'une vision arrivée en 1347 dans le couvent des Cisterciens à Tripoli.

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As to the text of our poem, this MS. is more complete than the Douce and more accurate than the Digby MSS. as published by Delius; it contains lines 1255–1270 which are in MS. B but lacking in MS. A. Delius omits these lines from his edition, saying that they are a later addition. P. Meyer considers: ". . . Delius a eu tort de les considérer comme une addition postéreure."[13] MS. C contains the following lines

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2. Le Mystère de "*la seinte Resureccion*" commençant (fol. 97) par:
"*En ceste manere recilom*
La seinte Resureccion." Incomplet à la fin.

3. "*Tractatus in lingua romana secundum dominum ROBERTUM, Lincolniensis episcopum, de principio creationis mundi,* etc.," ou "*Le Chastel d'Amour,*" commençant (fol. 99) par:
"*Qui ben pense, ben poet dire*
Sanz penser ne pot sos fire."

4. "*Passio beati Georgii, militis et martyris,*" commençant (fol. 108) par:
"*Sages est qui s'en escrist*
Il fait a plusurs profist," les initiales des cinq premiers vers donnent le nom propre *Simun.*

5. "*De Sancto Nicholao,*" Vie de St. Nicolas, par *mestre Guace,* commençant (fol. 117) par:
"*A ces qui n'unt lectres aprises*
Ne lur ententes n'i ont mises."

6. Traité sur l'amour de Dieu et sur la crainte du jugement dernier, commençant (fol. 125) par:
"*Seint Pol li apostle dist*
Si cum nus trovom en escrist."

7. "*De Sancto Thoma, archiepiscopo Cantuariensi,*" Vie de Saint Thomas Becket, par *Frère Benet,* commençant (fol. 129) par:
"*Al Deu loenge en son servis*
Par la grace que m'ad tramis
De chanter."

8. "*Hugo de Lincolnia,*" La passion de l'enfant de Lincoln, commençant (fol. 135) par:
"*Ore oez un bel chancon*
Des Jues de Nichole qui par treison."

9. Le Bestiaire divin de "*Guilliame Li Normant,*" contenant la parabole du besant (fol. 155) et celle de la vigne (fol. 156); commençant (fol. 137) par:
"*Ceo est verile seue et fine*
En totes overainnes en dote," et finissant par:
"*Devant le juge trembleront*
Et lor jugement atendront. Amen. Explicit."

10. Paraphrase en vers sur le psaume XLIV fait en l'honneur de Marie de France, comtesse de Champagne, et commençant (fol. 159) par:
"*Une chancon que David fist*
Que nostre sire el quer li mist
Dirrai ma dame de Champagne," et finissant par:
"*Soleil lune terre et mer*
Et tot le mond vos deit loer. Amen." Cette paraphrase ne s'applique qu'aux cinq premiers versets; un texte complet s'en trouve dans les mss. 1747 et 2094.

A la suite (fol. 163) un Calendrier, de l'an MIICLXXXVI jusqu'en MVIIIXVII.

Feuillets 1–162 vélin, XIV siècle; feuillets 163–172, papier XV siècle. (Anc. 7268,³.². Colbert 3745.)

[13] P. Meyer, Rom., VIII, p. 25, note.

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missing either in A, B, D, or E: 6, 44, 356–357, 372–375, (inclusive), 473–474, 478–479, 554–555, 720–721, 743, 826–827, 864–865, 1070–1071, 1255–1270, 1334–1439, 1452–1490, 1491. This is the last line of MSS. C. and D. The Trinity manuscript is followed by the Collect for St. Nicholas in Latin: "*Deus, qui beatum Nicholaum pontificem tuum innumeris decorasti miraculis, tribue nobis quæsumus, ut ejus meritis et precibus a gehenne incendiis liberemur; per Do. n. J. Ch. f. t. qui tecum. . . .*"

The title "*De Sancto Nicholao*" is written in red letters. The initial *A* is a large capital in red, extending down six lines, but with the outside stroke carried to the bottom of the column. New subjects are introduced by small initial capitals in red as on fol. 118, line 18, *De patres* has *d* in red until folios 119–120–121–122 which have the first letters written in black by the same hand as the text and filled in with red, but this is not continued in the remaining folios.

As to palæographical characteristics, there are but few to be mentioned. In view of the fact that medieval palæography in non-Latin texts is still a barren field with the few exceptions of P. Meyer and Hauréau's "*Notices de Manuscrits*" we are unable to draw any conclusions from established facts. The most striking peculiarity of our scribe seems to be his use of the V which often can hardly be distinguished from O, even in cases where it stands for U from Latin U, as for example, line 27, *Chescon*, although it may well be that the usual first horizontal stroke of the V coincides with the head stroke of the preceding C.

The word Nicholas appears in the text, first in line 37: *De Seint Nicholas en romanz*, with the initial N drawn out broadly so as to catch the eye of the reader. Otherwise, he writes it out, or abbreviates it to *Nich.*, 470, or to *N.*, 361.

When the last letter of a line is *t*, the scribe usually does not put a period, instead he draws a perpendicular stroke down from the cross-stroke.

The abbreviations are the same as commonly found in the manuscripts of the time—*n* after a vowel, a dash over the vowel: *entete, dut; q^{e} = que, quanq^{e}; q^{i} = qui; p^{e}ndre = prendre;* ^{9} over the line = *os* or *us: m^{9}trer, pl^{9}, n^{9}* = ; *u* over the line *q^{u}nt = qant quant; g^{u}nz = granz; ap^{s}ndre = aprendre, mest^{s}ier, p^{e}merain,* 99

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but *p^{s}merain* 145 *m^{s}ueille*, 191; *p ^{m} = pur, ppense,^{m}* 179, *^{9} = con, com,^{9} tredit = contredit; p = per, par;^{o} = ro, ra, t^{o}uat = trovat*, 186.

The page of the manuscript is divided into two columns of forty-six lines each, each line being a complete verse. The handwriting of our copyist is much less calligraphically clear than the one of central France, but still relatively clear, except in cases where the scribe seems not to have understood the meanings of unusual words, as *meiseres* 391, *mediacon* 399, or the proper names as *Esparcus* 461 which he writes "*danz et par*," and the number of such instances is quite large. We find unintelligible lines as:

Que deus de sa charite 198.

instead of

Que quidez de sa charite?
Et danz et par prouost ere 461.

instead of

Esparcus sun prouost ere.
Et en la iur enterre posez 949.

a confusion for

Et en la bierre ja posez.

His strokes for *n* and *u* are often indistinguishable, perhaps on purpose, when he does not understand the word, as in 1163 *nen* instead of *veu:*

Mes nen ai un avision which should read: *Mes veuai un avision.* He sometimes carelessly puts together words, so in, *Ne remistrent ren tut lont aportez* 682, he has been copying: *Ne remest ren, tut lont aportez,* and mistakes *ren* for the verb termination. Verses 257, 258, 260 have the word *mustre*, so in verse 264, he writes *mustrent* for *mistrent:*

A terre a ses pez se mustrent.

The manuscript, as a whole, is legible and has been preserved in good condtiion.

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V

SOURCES OF WACE'S POEM AND WORKS ON ST. NICHOLAS BY LATER WRITERS

The sources of the life of St. Nicholas have been partially treated by K. K. R. Bohnstedt.[1] Since this thesis has almost entirely escaped the attention of the critics and reviewers, we shall excerpt from it the historical findings concerning the Nicholas legends and supplement it where possible.

The oldest known account of the life of St. Nicholas is by Methodius, Bishop of Constantinople, 842–846 A. D., who wrote a "*Laudatio Sancti Nicolai*" contained in Membrano Cod. Vatic., No. 824, fol. 151. This was published by Carminius Falconius in *S. Nicolai Acta Primigenia*, Naples, 1751. As there is a second version of the life of St. Nicholas by Methodius, this may be called Methodius A.

The second version is in Membran. Vatic., No. 281, and in Cod. Vatic., No. 824, fol. 169. This was published by Falconius,[2] and may be called Methodius B.

The next important biographer of St. Nicholas was Johannes Diaconus, Ecclesiæ Neapolitanæ, whose life of the saint was written before the year 872 A. D.[3] This life was published by Mombritius in *Vitæ Sanctorum*, LL. Milan, 1479. This may be designated Johan. Diaconus A. A version of the life by Johannes Diaconus similar to that published by Mombritius was published by Aloysius Lipomanus, Bishop of Verona: *De Vitis Sanctorum*, Venice, 1553. The text and order of the miracles are essentially the same as in Mombritius.[4]

From Cod. Membran. Vatic. (olim Reginæ Sueciæ) inter Latin. No. 5696 et ex Cod. Membran. Arch. Bibliotheca Neapoli Dom Ampliss III, there was published the life of St. Nicholas

[1] *Vie Saint Nicholas, altfranzösisches Gedicht*, Erlangen, 1897 (Diss., Leipzig).
[2] *S. Nicolai Acta Primigenia, Carminius Falconius, Neapoli*, 1751.
[3] Bohnstedt, *op. cit.*, p. 36.
[4] Bohnstedt, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

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in *Vita S. Nicolai Episc. et Confess. Ex B. Methodio per Johann. Diaconum.* This may be called Johann Diaconus B.

The third well-known author of a life of St. Nicholas was Simeon Metaphrastes who wrote in the early part of the tenth century.[5] Metaphrastes repeated the miracles as given by Methodius and added nine miracles none of which are, however, in Wace's poem. It may then be inferred that Metaphrastes was not one of Wace's sources.

Jos. Simon Assomane published a life of St. Nicholas from Methodius and other sources in *Kalendaria Ecclesiæ Universæ*, Rome, 1755. The life of St. Nicholas is in Vol. V, p. 419. Assomane considered that Methodius gave only seven miracles, he therefore added the miracles found in Cod. Vatic. Regio Alexandrino, No. 125, fol. 45–49, and in Cod. Regio Alex., No. 529, fol. 119–123. These contained additional miracles not found in Methodius nor in Johann. Diaconus. Assomane quotes Mombritius[6] who has these miracles, ". . . *quod veridica relatione a quibusdam Grajis comperi.*" These are the miracles given by Wace 14, 13, 17. Assomane says there is confusion here between the life of St. Nicholas of Myra and St. Nicholas Pinarensis. Assomane refutes Falconius as to the date of St. Nicholas' death as having occurred at the end of the fifth century. He accepts as has the Church that St. Nicholas lived under the Emperor Constantine.

CONTENTS OF WACE'S VIE ST. NICHOLAS

Wace's life of St. Nicholas contains the following subjects and miracles:

1. Nicholas, born of distinguished and pious parents, foreshadowed his religious calling in his earliest infancy, when a nursling, he observed the prescribed fast days (lines 45–72).

2. Nicholas spent his wealth in helping the needy. He saved the honor of a ruined noble family whose three daughters had resolved to sacrifice their virtue to help their father. The saint

[5] Bohnstedt, *op. cit.*, p. 40.
[6] Mombritius, *Vitæ Sanctorum*, p. 188.

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on three successive nights threw three bags of gold into their house, thus changing their poverty into happiness (lines 181–120).

3. When the archbishop's See was vacant and the bishops were disputing as to his successor, Nicholas was designated by a heavenly message as the man chosen by God (121–156).

4. In the interest and excitement of seeing the heaven-chosen archbishop, a woman forgot her baby, leaving it in hot water on a fire. Remembering, she called in distress upon the bishop, by whose miraculous power the baby was found to be unhurt, playing with the bubbling water (157–193).

5. A child so grievously afflicted by a demon that he was uncontrollable was brought by his mother to Bishop Nicholas. The sign of the cross made over the child by the bishop, drove out the demon and the child was instantly healed (204–211).

6. Three clercs stopping at an inn were robbed, murdered and cut into pieces by the inn-keeper. The saint, coming to the inn, restored them to life (212–225).

7. Sailors were once overwhelmed by so great a storm that all hope of rescue was lost. Upon their calling on St. Nicholas for help, he appeared to them and quieted the storm (226–273).

8. A devastating and long famine came upon the people of the country. Bishop Nicholas took from passing ships a little of the wheat being shipped to the Emperor at Alexandria. This was miraculously increased to supply the country for two years, and at the same time, the wheat on the vessels was found upon arrival to have been undiminished in quantity (274–337).

9. Diana in anger at St. Nicholas because of his interference with her worship, appeared in the guise of a nun to some sailors who were going to his monastery. She gave them a "mediacon," a magic oil, to be spread on the steps and walls alleging it was a holy offering. St. Nicholas appeared to the sailors carrying the mediacon and told them to spread it on the sea. They did so, whereupon it burst into flames (338–445).

10. Three counts were unjustly imprisoned and sentenced to death by the Emperor of Constantinople. In their extremity, they called upon St. Nicholas who appeared in a dream to the emperor and also to his "provost" threatening them with annihilation if the prisoners were not released. The three counts were

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thus not only delivered from prison, but were also presented with gifts from the converted emperor as they went on a pilgrimage to St. Nicholas (446–603).

11. The saint healed great numbers of the sick from serious infirmities and freed many from evil spirits (614–633).

12. The saint at his death was marked by divine favor. As he recited the Psalm, "In Thee, O Lord, have I put my trust," the soul left the body. Holy angels carried it to Paradise. An oil with curative powers flowed from the head of the tomb so that many were healed by it (634–639).

13. The archbishop was unjustly exiled by the ruler of the land. The oil from the tomb of St. Nicholas ceased to flow, thus causing great loss to the city. Upon his return from exile, the oil flowed again (640–651).

14. Pagans came from over the sea to rob the Christians. One of the victorious pagans found an image and learned from a captive Christian that it was an image of St. Nicholas and would protect his wealth. Thieves, however, stole the pagan's wealth. The pagan struck the image of the saint. At the command of St. Nicholas the stolen wealth was returned. The pagan and all his country were converted to Christianity (656–721).

15. A Christian borrowed money from a Jew pledging its repayment on the image of St. Nicholas. When the money was due, the Christian declared that he had paid it. The Jew said that if the Christian would swear on the image of St. Nicholas that he had returned the money, he would be content. On the appointed day, the Christian enclosed the money due in a stick and coming before the image, gave the Jew the stick to hold while he took the oath. The Christian then taking his stick started on his homeward way. He was run over by a cart, the stick was broken, the money fell out, so disclosing the fraud. The money was restored to the Jew, the Christian was revived, and the Jew and all his household were converted to Christianity (722–805).

16. A man in fulfillment of a vow had made a beautiful and costly cup. When it was finished, he considered it too beautiful to give. He, therefore, had a second cup made. With his wife and son he went on a pilgrimage to Myra. On the voyage, his

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son, holding the finer cup, fell into the sea. Upon arriving at the Church, the bereaved father laid the second cup upon the altar as an offering in fulfillment of his vow. It at once flew away from the altar, and after repeated efforts to replace it, it was evident to all that it was an unacceptable offering. The repentant father then confessed, and immediately his child bearing the original cup, came running toward him (806–925).

17. Getro and Eufrosine had long desired a son. Getro made a pilgrimage to Myra to pray for a child. The prayer was granted. The son was born on December 6th, and in their gratitude they named him Dieudonné. When a small child, he was stolen and sold to the "Emperor of the Saracens" whom he served in the capacity of cup-bearer. On one anniversary of St. Nicholas, Dieudonné remembered the saint. At the same time, Getro was praying in the church, when suddenly, Dieudonné was restored to him (926–1071).

18. A merchant taking great possessions with him went on a pilgrimage to St. Nicholas. While sleeping one night at an inn, he was killed by the inn-keeper and his mangled body was put into a barrel. St. Nicholas went to the inn during the night, restored the merchant to life and departed. The next morning the inn-keeper, in fear and amazement at beholding the merchant alive, confessed the murder and accompanied the merchant on his pilgrimage (1076–1135).

19. A good man of "Lombardie" celebrated the saint's feast-day annually. On such a morning while he was at service with his wife and household, his child remained alone in the house. The devil in the form of a beggar asked the child for bread, and on receiving it, seized and strangled the child to death. In the midst of the lamentations of the parents, St. Nicholas, having assumed the appearance of a pilgrim, came to their door asking for food. He was served, then he asked to eat in a room apart from the clercs who were feasting. The father took him into the room where the child's body lay. The child was restored to life by the saint (1136–1323).

20. A noble baron wishing to take to his country a relic of the saint, tried to take a tooth. This displeased the saint who made this manifest by the unceasing flow of oil from the case

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and wrappings of the tooth. The saint also appeared in a dream at night to the baron saying that his body must not be divided. When the baron awoke, he found that the tooth had disappeared[7]. (1352–1439.)

21. A paralytic who was so ill that he could not even raise his hand to his head, was carried by his friends to the monastery of St. Nicholas. The saint anointed the paralytic with oil from the lamp and prayed. The sick man was at once healed (1440–1474).

A comparison of the order of miracles as given by Wace with earlier authors of a life of St. Nicholas with a view to ascertaining the source of Wace's poem will show the following relationship:

	METHODIUS		JOHANN DIAC.		ASSOMANE
WACE	A	B	A	B	
1	1		1	1	1
2	2		2	2	2
3	3		3	3	3
4	—		—	—	—
5	—	—	—	8	—
6	—	—	—	18	—
7	8	4	4	4	4
8	5	—	5	5	5
9	10	—	6	6	6
10	7	5	7	7	7
11	—	—	—	—	—
12	9	—	8	14	—
14	—	—	9	16	—
15	—	—	—	—	—
16	—	—	—	—	—
17	—	2	10	17	—

[7] The saint's objection to the removal of any part of his body may be an indication of the early date of this composition and also that it is a western composition. This objection was doubtless due first, to the pagan idea of the sin of desecration of the corpse, secondly, to the firm belief in bodily resurrection. In the East, relics became important as early as the fourth century. In Rome, "mere unwrapping or touching of a body of a martyr was considered to be a terribly perilous enterprise . . . this belief lasted until the late Middle Ages. In the Theodosian Code the translation, division or dismemberment of the remains of the martyrs was expressly forbidden." Cath. Encyl. "Relics." Later, a saint would have granted the favor to a faithful follower when the worship of the saint was manifested before the relics. "A church decree of the latter eighth century may have had something to do with changing this attitude: 'The seventh general council of Nicea (787) forbade the consecration of churches in which relics were not present under pain of excommunication.'" A New Theory Concerning the Origin of the Miracle Play, G. R. Coffman, p. 27.

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The evidence points clearly to the fact that Johannes Diaconus rather than Methodius was the chief source from which Wace drew his material for the life of St. Nicholas.

The later prose versions of the life of St. Nicholas occupy a noticeable place in the various and numerous developments of Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda Aurea*, in Latin as well as in the vernacular. According to the manuscript catalog in the Département des Manuscrits, the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris possesses the following manuscript versions of the Nicholas texts in French, Provençal, Catalan and Spanish:[8]

MS. Fonds Français, 183 fol. 141d. *S. Nicolas Eveque de Myre. Toute creature qui en Nostre Seigneur a fiance et creance doit volentiers oir. . . . Mesiers Saint Nicolas, si fu nez de haute ligniee de la cite de Pathie qui ca en arriers fu de grant renommee et pueplee du grant pueple*, fourteenth century.

No. 184 fol. 13a. *Légende dorée. Nicolas est dit de Nichos . . . Nicolas citoien de la cite de Patras fu nez de riches et sains parens et son pere ot nom Epiphanus et sa mere Jeheme et ses parens lengendrerent en la premiere fleur de leur aage.*

No. 185 fol. 143b is the same version as No. 183, fourteenth century.

No. 187 fol. 42b. *Sains Nicholas fu nex de Patras dune bone cite; moult tost commansa abstinance car en son bersoil jeunoit le mercredi et le vandredi*, fourteenth century.

No. 241 fol. 10vo.b. is a beautifully calligraphed and luxuriously illuminated manuscript which shows the unmistakable technique of the school of Notre Dame. It gives the information: *Richart de Monbaston libraire a fait escrire ceste legende des saints en francais l'an de grace nostre seigneur*, Mil cccxlviii. The prologue gives as the source of his material on fol. 10 Vo. b, line 3 and fol.: . . . *Et les docteurs de grece escristrent sa legende. Et l'en lit ailleurs que methodieu patriarche l'escrist en grec. Et Jehan dyacre la translata en latin et y ajusta pluseurs choses.*

MS. No. 242 fol. 7a, fifteenth century is the same version as No. 184.

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[8] An exhaustive study of all of these texts lies beyond the scope of this work, but we shall give such information from them as is available and directly related to it.

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No. 243 fol. 11c, fifteenth century is the same version as No. 184.

No. 244 fol. 14a, fifteenth century is the same version as No. 184.

No. 411 fol. 188a, fourteenth century is the same version as No. 185.

No. 143 fol. 142a is the most elaborate, and perhaps, the oldest version. This is signed and dated 1285, as we read on fol. 227a:

Icis livres ici finist
Bone aventure ait qui l'escrist.
Henri ot non l'enlumineur,
Dex le gardie de deshoneur.
x x
Si fu fais l'an MCCIIII et V.

No. 413 fol. 234c: *Saint Nicholas fu nez de tres haultes gens et puisque il fut nez, son pere et sa mere vesquirent en continence et prierent Dieu que leur enfant feust preudomme*, fifteenth century.

No. 414 fol. 13a, which is the same version as No. 242. This manuscript contains the date 1404 A. D.

No. 415 fol. 17a, contains the same version as No. 414, fifteenth century.

No. 442 fol. 97d contains the same version as No. 412. This is a manuscript of the end of the thirteenth century.

No. 902 117 Vo. b, is the life by Wace, the subject of our study.

No. 988 fol. 115b, contains the same version as No. 413, fourteenth century.

No. 1534 fol. 21a: *Saint Nicholas fu moult saint homme il fu ne dune cite qui avoit non Patras et fu filz dun homme qui avoit nom Epyphanes*, fifteenth century.

No. 1535 fol. 177 is the same version as No. 184, fifteenth century.

No. 1555 fol. 134 is a rimed sermon in the form of an *épître farcie*. It begins:

Or escoutez, grans et menour,
Qui vous seez et haut et bas.

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This manuscript contains a description of the comet of the year 1402.[9]

Nouvelles acquisitions No. 4464 fol. 55c: *Saint Nicolay fust nes en le cite de Panthere et fust de grant lignie et de bourgoisie. Son pere ot nom Epiphano*, fifteenth century.

No. 6448 fol. 11c is the same version as No. 184, Fonds Français.

No. 9759 fol. 12c is a Catalan manuscript written in a cursive and rather careless hand. It gives (on fol. 12 Vo) as sources of the Nicholas legend: *La legenda delqual los doctors ergulossi escriusseron. Et argulos segon que dis isidorus es una cieutat de grecia, on los homes de aquela cieutat Arguloci so apelatz et en autre loc es legit que machodi patriarcha la vida de sant nicholau scriuech. en grec. la qual johan di aca en lati translatet e moltas tans hi ajustet.* This is the translation from the prologue to the chapter on St. Nicholas of Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda Aurea*. Early fifteenth century.

No. 17229 fol. 121c is an earlier version of No. 413. End of thirteenth century.

No. 17232 fol. 9a is the same version as No. 184; fifteenth century.

No. 23112 fol. 258d is the same version as No. 412. The last line of this manuscript is MC̊C̊. This is not, however, a manuscript of the year 1200.[10] The writing places it at the end of the thirteenth century.

No. 23117 fol. 288d. This manuscript consists of two parts, the first of the thirteenth century and the second part, in which the life of St. Nicholas is found, in the same version as No. 413, is of the fourteenth century.

No. 24945 fol. 29a has a Provençal version; fifteenth century.

All the manuscripts listed thus far are in the Fonds Français. In Fonds Espagnol No. 44 fol. 9 Voa is a Catalan version with the same prologue as in No. 9759. It is a close translation of the Latin original of the *Legenda Aurea*, reading: *La ligenda delqual los doctors Arguolici escriscren, e es arguos segons que diu ysidorus una ciutat de grecia, on los homes daquela ciutat arguolicį*

[9] A description of this manuscript is found in *La Vie St. Alexis*, G. Paris et L. Pannier, Paris, 1872.

[10] P. Meyer, Rom. I, p. 365.

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son apelatz. E en altre loc es lest que metodi patriarcha la vida de sent Nicholau escrisc en grec laqual johan diaque en lati translada e motas coses[11] *i aiusta.* End of fourteenth or early fifteenth century.

A comparison of these manuscripts in the vernacular with the versions of the life of St. Nicholas extending from the early one by Wace to such late ones as Fonds Français, No. 1555, a period of two hundred and fifty years, shows a great similarity between them. The relation of the miracles, the order in which they occur, the often identical vocabulary of common words, as well as of proper names, such as Patras, Myrre, Eufrosine, Nepocion, Arpelion, suggest that they all came from the same original source, and that Wace, among the first, opened the great treasure of Latin legendary writings to new readers in the north of France.

The following comparison of the miracles as given in the poem by Wace with the most complete of the other later French versions, MS. No. 412 Fonds Français, Bib. Nat., Paris:

WACE	MS. NO. 412
1	1
2	2
3	3
4	—
5	8
6	—
7	4
8	5
9	6
10	7
11	9
12	11
13	—
14	13
15	12
16	12
17	24
20	14
21	10

[11] The first part of the word is partially obliterated by the initial N.

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shows that there is a greater similarity between the contents of the Nicholas legends of this MS. No. 412 and the poem by Wace than between it and the older Greek-Latin sources, which fact seems to indicate that the French prose version may have been based upon Wace's poem.

This life of St. Nicholas was, like many others, originally written in Greek, later translated into Latin, and finally, translated from the Latin and retold in octosyllabic verse in French by Wace, still keeping close to the Latin text as indicated in the table of comparison of the miracles of Wace with those of Johannes Diaconus. Using Wace's version as a source, it was then rewritten by later writers in both verse and prose with the subject-matter enlarged to include other popular material as in the MS. Bib. Nat., Fonds Français, No. 412. During the early twelfth century, it was also written in semi-dramatic form like those contained in the important Orleans MS., No. 178.[12] The story finally reached a wide public through Jean Bodel's dramatic masterpiece: "Li Jus St. Nicolai."

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[12] Edited by Ed. de Coussemaker: *Drame Liturgique au Moyen Age*, Paris, 1861, Nos V–VIII, pp. 83–142.

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VI

THE STYLE OF WACE'S POEM

The narration of the stories contained in Wace's poem is direct, showing a simplicity which uses neither metaphor nor frequent simile. This may have been due, in part, to the nature of the hearers to whom the poem was addressed, *i. e.*:

A ces qui nunt lectres aprises[1]

and the skilful author adopts a style in keeping with his audience. Interest is aroused when he says:

En romanz dirrai de sa vie 39,

and is sustained by the rapidity of the narration, by the vividness of direct, instead of indirect quotation:

Socure, seint Nicholas sire	248.
Si tels es com nus oum dire.	249.
Ditez, seignurs, ne me mentez,	
Que est iceo que vus portez?	412–413.
Sauez (vus) qui la femme fu?	421.
Auez vus fait enchantement?	547.
Tote nuit mauez fait veiller!	550.
Forme est, dist il, seint Nicholas	
Ja tant cum tu laueras	
Ne serras poures ne cheitifs.	670–672.
Leuez suz, dit il leuez suz	
Dame, nest tenz de dormir plus.	1158–1159.
Dites! porquei ne responez?	
Emperere, nus ne sauom	
Que respondre tei deuom.	555–558–559.

[1] I give the quotations from our MS. C, in the diplomatic copy. A critical text of the poem is in preparation.

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Many are the living glimpses of their lowly lives:

La ostesce v il aveit ju	157.
Son enfant enz al bain guerpie	
Que desur le feu fet aueit	
De tere al cel tens feseit lom	
Vn tes veissel par (pan) aueit non.	162–165.
. . . . .	
E li enfez qui dedenz feu	
Eut le cors tendre et nu.	172, 173.
. . . . .	
Si sest la mere porpense	
Que ele out lesse son enfant.	179, 180.
. . . . .	
Car de ble sumez sosfreituz	
Mult en i ad des bosonniuz.	290–291.
. . . . .	
Larrons dunc partut asez	
Sunt en la vile asemblez	
Senz garde vnt cel auer troues	
Ne remistrent ren, tut lont aportez.	679–682
. . . . .	
Uns cristienz poures esteit	
Dor et dargent mestier aueit	
A un iueu vint, si lui dist	
De son bosoing, consail requist.	726–729.
En vn petit batel se mist	
A vne nief nager se fist	382–383.
. . . . .	
Vne nascele i unt troue	404.
Qui ces de la nief apela	
Corteisement od els parla	408–409.
. . . . .	
Vn de els vn ymage troua	
Bel li fu, cil enporta	664, 665.
Puis demanda . . .	
Que ceo esteit et que valeit.	668.

We see their custom of swearing before a saint's image or even offering one as a pledge, as later all oaths were taken on holy relics:

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Mes naueit gueres a doner 731.
E vn image en gage prist 734.
. . . . . .
Que si cil iurer voleient
Sur limage qui plege esteit
Quil quite le clamereit 748–750.

The St. Nicholas celebration evidently began very early in the day for we are told of a man who "Par matin ainz iur leuad," 1156, awoke his wife

"Alum al seruise al muster
Quant nus serum al comencer
Volenters, dist ele, alom. 1160–1162.

There passes before us a constant procession of pilgrims to Myra —in every case rewarded—going

Sur la mer en altre contree,
De rome i out meinte jurnee 488–489.

Indeed, the traveling covers an amazingly wide area from "Lombardie" to "Alisandre." More approvingly emphasized than all other customs was that of providing feasting for the clercs. How many miracles happen to the generous provider of the feast! Getro and Eufrosine whose son was restored *Feste seint Nicholas forment fesoient*, 993:

Del clercs richement conreer
De fere lire et de chanter 994–995.

The man of "lombardie":

Chescon an feseit asembler
Clercs a la feste pur chanter
Cunrai lur aparillout
Et ben a chescon del son donout. 1150–1153.

These are bright pictures of a real society. Thus, nuns and robbers, merchants, prisoners and money-lenders, clercs and their rich patrons all come in turn to offer a realistic picture of twelfth century life.

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The well balanced phrasing of the sententious maxims not merely holds the attention, but remains in the memory.

Et qui plus poet, plus deit aider, 25.
Et qui plus est fort, plus deit porter. 24.

Chescon deit mustrer son sauer
Et sa bonte et son poer. 27–28.

Antithesis, again and again, heightens the effect,

Enpres grant ris ad mult grand plur,
Apres grant ioie, grant tristur. 1253–1254.

The author interrupts his narration occasionally with a comment, as when speaking of a rich man who had become poor, he inserts:

De tels auom plusurz veuz. 84.
Tels i ad qui de pouerte
Resunt venuz en grant plente. 87–88.

or with advice, so when telling of the man who failed to pay his vow:

Oez seignurs, si apernez (aprenez)
A rendre ceo que vus deues. 806–807.

When describing the paralytic with his hopeless illness, he says:

Palacin est de tele nature,
La v il prent, longement dure. 1446–1447.

The poem is not all in a familiar tone. Sometimes it soars to the nobility of a Chanson de Geste. The description of a storm at sea suggests the epic power of Roland or St. Léger:

Ja esteit en hautte mer(e)
Aseur quidouent aler.
Si commenca la mer a emfler,
A creistre et a meller.
Grant vent vint et espesse pluie
Que as mariners mult ennuie.
Granz fu li venz et li orages,
Esbai fu tut li plus sagez. 232–239.
Rompent cordes, depece tref,
Fruissent keuiles de la nef. 242–243.

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The last two lines certainly are worthy of the best poet, with their tone-painting technique.

Not merely cleverness in writing but also an appreciation of the nobility of a saint on his death bed are shown in his introducing into his French text the original Latin verse. The saint's last words are:

In te domine speraui,

and peacefully

Atant lalme del cors issi. **628–629.**

No translation could have lent the dignity of these few Latin words.

Wace thus shows in this, probably his first long poem, that he has the art of seizing upon the salient points of the story —when the Christian has been run over by the cart, the crowd comes running to see; when Diane wishes to take revenge on St. Nicholas, she is disguised as a nun—so by his vivid narration, his varied style, he began to win the fame confirmed by his later writings.

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VII

VERSIFICATION

The statement made by G. Wacker,[1] that the St. Nicholas poem is a "Laissendichtung" is incorrect.

The St. Nicholas consists of 1490 octosyllabic lines rimed in pairs, aa, bb, cc . . . with masculine rimes predominating. Only 16 per cent of the rimes are feminine. There is a striking similarity between the rhythmical structure of Wace's octosyllabic line and that of the oldest French lyrico-epic poems of the "Passion" and the "St. Léger." Indeed, 10 per cent of the lines of the St. Nicholas are divided into two well-balanced halves, 4 x 4 syllables, and exactly as is the case in the eleventh century manuscript of the "Passion," the middle of the line is often indicated by a punctuation dot.[2] To illustrate this point from the "Passion," a few examples will suffice:

Canten li gran. e li petit	41.
fili davit. fili davit	42.
palis vestit. palis mantels	43.
Venrant li an. venrant li di	57.
Et per lo pan. et per lo vin	93.
Signes feran. li soi fidel	456.
Li soi fidel. en son tornat,	473.

Just as the lines are here divided into two, in many cases interchangeable hemistiches as in the two last lines quoted, we read in our MS.:

li chiualer. et li burgeis	17.
et li vilein. et li corteis.	18.
Li vn sun lai. li vn lectre,	9.
Li vn petit. et li vn grant.	11.
Li vn poure. li vn manant.	12.
Asez ourent. or et argent.	51.
Ne tut oir. ne tut veer.	8.

[1] *Dialekt und Schriftsprache im Altfranzösischen*, G. Wacker, Berlin, 1916, p. 16.

[2] Dreyer: *Zur Clermonter Passion*, Erlangen, 1901, points out the fact that the third copyist uses these period marks more systematically than do the first two hands.

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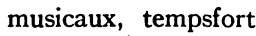
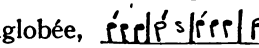
Cist otriout. cist ne voleit 133.
Ses draz rompeit. ses meins maniout 206.
Ditez fist il. ne celez pas 572.

The "coupe" or pause, since the term cæsura is not usually admitted for octosyllabic verse, is thus indicated graphically; each of these hemistiches forms a complete entity that may stand either as the first or as the second half of the line. But aside from these 4 x 4 lines, the octosyllabic line of our poem follows the same principle of accentuation that prevails in all of them, *i. e.*, the word stresses, mostly four to the line including the rime, may fall on any of the even or uneven syllables with the exception of the syllable preceding the rime. "Chaque phrase musicale, correspondant à un vers de huit syllabes se compose de deux suites rythmiques dont chacune a deux accents musicaux, tempsforts  ou avec l'anacrouse englobée,  ou la combinaison d'un membre du premier ordre avec un du second schème."[3]

In our manuscript text there are 216 lines, or 14½ per cent that count only seven syllables, a phenomenon which is common to Norman, and especially to Anglo-Norman poets and copyists. "A peculiarity in counting the syllables, *i. e.*, in Anglo-Norman, is to be found in St. Brendan and in some other texts. It consists in counting the post-tonic *e* in the rime word as the eighth syllable in French verse. . . . To a French ear this makes an incomprehensible line as appears from the alterations in the French MS. of St. Brendan. In some poems, it would seem that the use of this kind of octosyllabic feminine line has led the author often to shorten his octosyllabic to a heptasyllabic line.[4] Although this may make an incomprehensible line to a modern French ear, on the other hand, it is perhaps the most significant evidence for the full sounding of final, so-called mute *e* at the time when the poem was written. This theory seems to have been accepted by some leading metricians,[5] although no agreement has been reached as to the explanation of this pecu-

[3] Jean Beck: *La Musique des Chansons de Geste*, Bulletin de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, comptes rendus des séances de l'année, 1911, p. 41.
[4] Vising, *Anglo-Norm. Litt.*, p. 192.
[5] Vising: *Sur la Versification Anglo-Norm.*, in toto.

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liarity. In our poem, incomplete lines do occur not only after a preceding feminine octosyllabic line but also between masculine rimes, a fact which eliminates Vising's supposition that the feminine syllable of a rime might have been carried over into the next line in order to fill the count of eight.

Heptasyllabic verses following masculine rime: Verses Nos. 32, 52, 54, 61, 65, 74, 118. Feminine rime: Verses Nos. 92, 232. In the first quarter of the poem, the heptasyllabic verse follows a masculine rime twenty-six times oftener than it follows a feminine rime.[6]

An investigation into the large number of heptasyllabic verses, seems to justify the conclusion that our English copyist counted them as octosyllabic; this occurs quite regularly in verb endings. Omission of other words seems deliberate on the part of the scribe—but not of the author—in order to permit this feminine syllable to be counted. Post-tonic *e* has been counted a syllable in the following lines:

Treis clercs alouent escole, 212, preposition *a* omitted.

Ja esteit en hautte mere, 232, *mere* for *mer*, the verb should be plural, *esteient*.

Un tens fut de grant famine, 275, the verb should be *esteit* to agree with the other imperfect tenses with which it is coordinate.

Iuno venus et minerve, 345—*minerve* in rime with *diane*.

Quant il perdi som empire, 367, the auxiliary *out* is omitted.

Ne aler od vous eisee, 395. It is here interesting to note that the word in the rime, *apareille*, has not the feminine *e* as line 394 has eight syllables. This is a common Anglo-Normanism.

Furent les niefs devisees, 432, MS. A has *tost*, and the reading *tost devisees* restores the count.

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[6] A possible explanation of the frequency of the heptasyllabic line in a poem of octosyllabic verse has been suggested by F. J. Tanquerey: *Plaintes de la Vièrges*, p. 36: "A première vue, cette équivalence peut nous sembler étrange; l'oreille s'habitue assez difficilement à ce mélange, au rythme boiteux des mètres impairs qui surviennent inopinément, en vers isolés on en longues tirades. Cette tolérance peut être due à l'influence des vers catalectiques des hymnes latines. Il est possible encore qu' à l'origine elle n' ait rien eu que de très logique; elle est peut-être le résultat d' un principe confusément senti plutôt que clairement compris par les écrivains anglo-français; ils ont pu admettre un vers de sept syllabes à côté de vers de huit, toutes les fois que le vers court contenait une forte pause qui, au point de vue rythmique, lui donnait la longueur normale."

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Constantin fu lemperere, 460—reading *li emperere.*

Saint Nicholas reclamerent, 470—*et*, or an adverb, omitted.

Et sui euesque de mirre, 536, this line varies from MS. A which has: *Qui le evesquie de mirre avoit*, fol. 98A.

Tornat. plus ne li volt dire, in 537, other cases, *s'en tornat.*

Lur meins vers le ciel leuerent, 576.

Li trei conte demorerent, 590. Negative *ne* omitted.

Plusurs deliura del deble, 612, *deble* rimes with *preciable; deble* should be *diable.*

La v deu plout la poserent, 631, *et* omitted between co-ordinate verbs.

Vint al larrons qui departent, 698, imperfect—*departeient* needed here as the other verbs show.

Que si cil iurer voleient, 748. Verb should be singular; *voleit*, and the object *le* has been omitted.

Le hanap derechef pristrent,884, *tut* omitted which is in MS. A, 101.

Et del alter regetee, 901, lacking in MS. A, *et de sour lauter regetee* MS. B.

Et la mer vers lui alerent, 920, should read *et la mere.*

Alat en cel pelrunage, 945. The dropping of *e* between liquids *l r*, *pelerenage*, has counted final *e.*

Le chapelein le granterent, 970, verb is *graanter.*

Al miels que vnques poeient, 992, subject *il* omitted.

Deudone ne se pout taire, 1031.

De maint liu et de maint tere, for *mainte terre*, 1072.

Car plaie ne sur sanure, 1104, fall of pre-tonic *e* in hiatus: *saneure.*

Ceo est deble qui de enuie, 1138, *deble* here reduced from three to two syllables.

E li soleil fu leuee, 1175, better reading in MS. A *fu haut leves* fol. 103 Vo A.

La maison vrent guerpie, 1177, *e* in hiatus *eurent?*

Mult lur pesat et mult plurent, 1212, verb should be perfect *plurerent* as co-ordinate verb is perfect.

Que auerai grant pesance., 1236 , subject *jo* omitted.

Pleinent sei si se palmouent, 1272.

Pur les clers qui s'es maierent, 1278.

Et la chose fu conue, 1314, *e* in hiatus has fallen: *coneue.*

Et plus volentiers lonurent, 1319 other verbs here are imperfect.

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La gent qui nul mal aucient, 1344, *aucun* instead of *nul.*
Pur ren quil saueint fere, saueient, 1353.

In keeping with the popular character of the poem, Wace identifies the metrical unit with the unit of thought and, therefore, avoids "enjambement," in fact, the construction of the sentence is so closely related to the construction of the couplet that they coincide:

Seint Nicholas sanz mal sanz mort.
Le menat ben et seint al port. 910–911.

This unity of the couplet has been considered a metrical criterium for the antiquity of the text.

The first verse of the couplet may be a complete sentence or picture, in which case the second verse will be also:

Li ostes par nuit les occist.
Les cors muscat, le auer prist. 214–215.

The sentence may continue through several verses but they will then be sentences of four, six or eight verses, "il n'y en a pas de trois, cinq, sept vers."[7] In this same article P. Meyer says: "il n'y a pas d'enjambement d'un couplet a l'autre,"[8] which is true for this manuscript, also "la construction du couplet peut etre appliquée comme instrument de critique, la cohésion des deux vers accouplés étant, en général, un indice d'ancienneté . . . on peut dire qu'au XIII siècle, l'individualité du couplet n'existe plus."[9]

[7] P. Meyer: Le Couplet de Deux Vers, Rom., Vol. XXIII, p. 6.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 7.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 16.

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VIII

HIATUS AND ELISION

That Wace is less meticulous as to form in his St. Nicholas than in his greater works is the opinion of Theodore Pohl.[1] He admits his uncertainty about this opinion as he had only the edition by Delius, and as it contained no variants, he said that for "das Nikolausleben . . . keine sicheren Schlüsse ziehen können."[2] This opinion is confirmed by the unusually large number of cases of hiatus in our poem. While Andresen finds that for cases of hiatus confirmed by all four manuscripts containing the *Rou*, "Die Zahl der Stellen . . . ist nicht gross,"[3] the *Vie St. Nicholas* shows hiatus not only in cases that are permissible, such as *e* followed by *i*, but indeed, hiatus occurs in all possible combinations:

e+e: *besoinne esplciter*, 474; *de el*, 485; *ne eschapat*, 888; *Septembre en*, 984.

e+a: *songe al*, 495; *ne aprist*, 560; *que aueir*, 730; *de ambes*, 747.

e+o: *ele out*, 180; *aueie od*, 1259.

e+ai: *le aim*,[4] 31: *que ait.*, 1329; *de aie*, 1329.

e+u: *que vn*, 624: *que vnques*, 992, 1365; *de vltre*, 1064, but in the same verse, elision with *de vre*.

e+oi: *ele oie*, 161: *de oile*, 1384 (*del oile*, 1386).

i+a: *li arccuesques*, 151.

i+e: *li enfez*, 172, 1182, 1206, 1312; *li enemiz*, 1184; *li empereres*, 514, 545, 592.

i+o: *li ostes*, 214; *ni osast*, 1365.

o+e: *ceo esteit*, 532; *ceo est*, 1138.

o+ou: *ceo out*, 797.

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[1] *Untersuchung der Reime in Maistre Wace's Roman de Rou et des Ducs de Normandie*, T. Pohl, in Rom. Forsch. II, p. 324.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 327.

[3] *Roman de Rou*, H. Andresen, Vol. II, p. 597.

[4] "Il semble qu'il y en ait un exemple (*i. e.*, hiatus of *e* with *a*) au vers 5 strophe III de Saint Léger; *il le amat*, mais M. Diez (*Altromanische Gedichte*, p. 46) a déjà remarqué que dans ces poèmes on ne rencontre pas *le* pour *lo* . . . il faut sans doute lire *il l'enamat*." G. Paris, St. Alexis, p. 32, note. This, however, is such an example.

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On the other hand, elision occurs with the same profuseness and variety. As our copyist is an Anglo-Norman, it cannot always be determined whether or not two vowels in apparent hiatus position are, or are not to be fused into one. This is a problem that has not yet been solved and it is beyond the scope of our study to add another hypothesis to the current ones.

Hiatus with Monosyllables

CEO: occurs in very few verses involving elision or hiatus. It is in hiatus with *est* 1138, *esteit* 532, 668, *out* 797, but it is also in elision with *est* 573. This agrees with the other poems of Wace: "Sichere Fälle für Hiat sind, vor *est*, vor *esteit*, vor *iert*, auch *co alout*. Elision findet sich *c'oi*."[5]

LI: A distinction is to be made as to its use as an article or as a pronoun. When it is a pronoun, there is elision, and no case of hiatus. *Li* as a masculine singular article is elided, three times when written *li* (127, 982, 1008). In other cases, the elision is indicated by the omission of *i*, the form being *l* (460, 625). In twelve cases written *li*, it stands in hiatus (151, 152, 172, etc.). *Li* as a masculine plural article stands always in hiatus (eight times). This is the result reached also by Pohl: "Der Artikel des Plurals schien ausschliesslich Hiat zu verlangen *li/un li/Engles*. . . . Pronominalen *li* . . . ganz anders auch wie in vielen anderen Dichtungen *li* ist elidirt."[6]

NE: Generally in elision. Hiatus occurs seven times, of which one case (888) the verb was probably reflexive, and the omission of the reflexive pronoun caused hiatus for *ne: Que de lur mainz ne eschapat*, 888. We find the archaic negative *nen* before a word beginning with a vowel. Andresen throughout his text has considered this *n'en*. In St. Nich.: *nen out* 1129, *nen alouent* 94. It occurs three times before consonants, in one of which it may represent *n'en: Nen frei longe parole* 213. W. Foerster says in his review of Andresen's Rou ". . . verwechselt Andresen auch in III einigemal die bei Wace häufige Form *nen* . . . mit der Form *n'en*."[7]

[5] T. Pohl, *op. cit.*, p. 325.
[6] T. Pohl, *op. cit.*, p. 326.
[7] W. Foerster, Zs. f. r. Phil. I, p. 147.

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QUI: The relative pronoun in the nominative case is in hiatus with three exceptions: *Quil ert, dunt fust, cum aueit non* 109. It is not unusual to have the *i* of *qui* elided before *il.*

Debles esteit quen tele guise 352. As we find *tel* in other cases before a feminine noun, the original may have been: *Debles esteit qui en tel guise. Que este vous et coment alez* 1183. It would rather be in the style of Wace to write: *Qui este vous, coment alez.* Of the above three cases of elision, we believe two are due to the scribe. *Qui* in hiatus is maintained, even though the scribe write it *que.*

QUE including the oblique case of the relative pronoun and also the conjunction is in hiatus thirty-nine times and elided forty-nine times; this does not therefore agree with the results of Pohl who says, "*que* . . . die Zahl mit Hiat ebenso gross (wenn nicht grösser) als die mit Elision zu sein."[8] He does not give the statistics on which he bases his opinion.

Hiatus with Polysyllables

After single consonants the post-tonic *e* is regularly elided, *quide aueir* 1262, *dire vn* 41, *faire od* 138, *treite a* 1199. After double consonants either elision or hiatus, with elision the rule after mute +liquid.

Elision: *desque al,* 912; *femme auer,* 968; *Mirre et,* 1359.

Hiatus: *bescinne espleiter,* 474; *masse i,* 817; *desque al,* 1109. After three consonants there is no elision except in combinations where one consonant at least is a liquid or a nasal when the groups *rbr, mbl, mbr, ndr* have not the force of three full consonants. Elision is found in *marbre ad* 634, *prendre al* 845, *ensemble alerent* 1133, *chambre vnt* 1274. Hiatus may occur in the same groups as given in elision: *tendre et* 173, *creistre et* 235, *entre els* 889, *Septembre en* 984, *vostre enfant* 1241.

Two vowels which in Latin formed hiatus remain as two full syllables; where the scribe has reduced these to one, the verse counts seven instead of eight syllables, so in *deable,* the form *deble* is used seven times in our text when the verse has seven

[8] T. Pohl, *op. cit.,* p. 324.

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syllables instead of the usual count of eight. Suchier says, ". . . *dcable* mit *e* im Anglonorman besonders beliebt."[9]

Two vowels resulting from the fall of an intervocalic consonant count as two full syllables, *liad* <*ligat* 757, *liez* <*ligatos* 524, but *lee* <*lætum* 1249 (cf. *le* 116), *depree* <*deprecatus* 1368 one syllable, *oi* <*audit* 674 (cf. two syllables, *oi*, 1311), *loit* 1065, *oid* 929, *espoent* <*ex-pavent* are *esponte* 710, 882, 1165. The imperfect *ert* <*erat* and the future *iert* <Latin *erit* occur in St. Nicholas. *Ert* is one syllable but there occurs in the rime *ere, emperere : ere* 460–461, where *ere* <*erat*, "Latin '*erat*' bei Wace nur '*ert*' war, nicht aber, '*eirt*' welches aus Latin '*erit*' stammt. . . . Wace im Versinnern des einsilbigen Imperfects (*ert iert*) sich bedient, während *er* im Reime auffallenderweise die Form '*ere*' benutz welche dann, wie bekannt mit *e* (aus A) reimt . . . Rou, '*ere*' (*eram*) : *pere* im Reim. Fur den Plural ist für Wace '*erent*'."[10]

Paien <*paganus* has two syllables, but *Chrestien* has three syllables. *Avision* is used as both a three syllable and a four syllable word, *A lui parlat par auision* 497, has three syllables, *Mes nen ai un auision* 1163, has four syllables. We find the same choice in Roland where in 725, 2529, 2555, it is used as three syllables, but has four syllables in 836. Pohl has found the same thing in the other poems of Wace and says the three syllable form is popular and the four syllable one is learned. *Eufrosine* 989, has five syllables, Tobler says.[11] There are eighty-six cases of hiatus of *e* in the entire poem of 1491 lines.

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[9] *Reimpredigt*, H. Suchier, p. XXXVII.
[10] T. Pohl, *op. cit.*, p. 338.
[11] A. Tobler, *Versbau*, p. 40.

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IX

THE LANGUAGE OF THE SCRIBE

The original of the life of St. Nicholas by Wace was, of course, written in Norman. As a native of the Island of Jersey, he was a Norman. The dialect of Guernsey and Jersey was not Anglo-Norman but Norman,[1] but the copy of Wace in our manuscript was undoubtedly made by an Anglo-Norman scribe and the time of the writing must have been the early thirteenth century since the characteristic Anglo-Norman graphy *au* for *a* + blocked nasal does not yet appear. This dating is confirmed by the sporadic use of *ou* for *o* which became general only at the end of the thirteenth century.[2]

That our manuscript is an Anglo-Norman copy of a Norman text has already been suggested by Paul Meyer.[3] The rimes testify as to the very language of the author and the seemingly incorrect forms within the line as to the language of the scribe. To ascertain the language of the copyist, we examine his idiomatic forms as opposed to those of the author as required by the rime.

Vocalism

A before a palatal is written *ei*, *ai*, or *e;* leitout (lactabat) 66; beise 1424; baisat 1394; mestre (magister) 1475, fere 54, 1190; les (laxas) 1201.

In other positions, he writes *e* for *a:* seueit 492, *frei* 213.

A in hiatus may or may not fall. Falls: vrount (aurouent) 357, 657: vrer (aurer) 360; uras (auras) 1123. Remains: meschau 687; chai 784; plaist 818. Menger states that "this loss of *a* in hiatus is not found except in Anglo-Norman texts."[4]

A pretonic, before *r* +consonant >*e:* erceueske 127; erceuesce 130, but arceuesques 151.

O. Fr. *e*, from Latin pretonic *a*, may be replaced by *i:* chiualer 17, 1094, 1130; chiual (caballu) 1457.

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[1] See Fleury, in *Revue des Patois*, III, p. 286, and Eggert, in *Zs.* f. rom. Phil., XIII, p. 353 ss

[2] Stimming, *Bueve de Hansome*, p. 190.

[3] P. Meyer, Rom., XXXII, p. 24 and fol.

[4] *Anglo-Norm. Dialect*, p. 49.

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A +checked nasal is not here *aun*, a characteristic form for Anglo-Norman forms and which is used throughout MS. B. This may be an indication of the early age of this copy, since about 1300 the *aun* forms are generalized, both stressed and unstressed.

demander 435, 545, demanda 532, Constantin 460, 538, lisant 1440; tant 438, enchantement 547, granz 585, grant 500, 593.

Closed *e* from Latin *é* in free position >*ei* or *e:*

aueir 716, valeir 931, poeir 930, seignurs 806, (maneil) 815; auer 19,[5] 215, sauer 7, poer 28, veer 8, deceiuer 724.

Pretonic *e* in hiatus falls sometimes but not regularly; our copyist uses both the contracted and the uncontracted forms.

Falls: vesture 381, urent 91, 323, 336, cru 319, recut 714.

Remains: deceu 369, peust 370, saperceut 758, seurent 886.

Pretonic *e* before *r* falls in frei 213, 704, 818.

This loss of *e* is also a characteristic of Picard dialect.

Pretonic *e* may be inserted in the future and the conditional, and as a rule[6] in words where one of a group of consonants is *r*: auerai 1197, 1236, auera 1327, offerande 900, 1075; aueras 671, sauereit 372, coueri 1405.

This *e* between *v* and *r* may be used to indicate either the consonant value of *v*, or it may symbolize the liquescent element between *v*, *r*.

Post-tonic *e* is added apparently to indicate the sounding of a final consonant in such cases as:mere (mer) 232, tele (tel) 553; porte (port) 868.

Post-tonic *e* may fall. According to Suchier,[6] the fall of *e* was first after *r*, next after *l*, and finally after *m*, *n*.

nul (nule) 467, cel (cele in other cases) 128, 222, poei, imperfect, 1195; un (une) 595, 841.

Accented open *e* in free position in French from Latin *c* + *a* breaks to *ie;* in our text, however, we find that it does not break not even when a nasal; chen 511, mels 23, le (lætum),

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[5] It, *i. e.*, this change from *eir* to *er*, seems to have originated in Anglo-Norman about the middle of the twelfth century . . . four were altered earliest of all, *aveir*, *poeir*, *saveir*, *voleir* to *aver*, *poer*, *saver*, *voler*. Menger: *Anglo-Norman Dialect*, p. 119. We find many instances of this in rime *saver:poer*, 27–28; *veer:aver*, 786; *aveir* (noun): *aver* (verb), 716–717.

[6] H. Suchier, *St. Auban*, pp. 36–39.

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116, gref 195, although gref <gravem, has *e* only by analogy with brevem. In this text, the only form of brevem is breif 194, a form probably due to the scribe's error.

Loss of *i* in hiatus: tonerz (<tonarius) 683, paens 338, but paiens 661, nent 269, especially when in emphatic position as the first word in the sentence. Scansion shows that *nient* has two syllables so Andresen also finds: "*Nient* wird immer zweisilbig gebraucht."[7] Marie de France uses *nent* three times.[8]

O Fr. *o* open or closed is generally written *u*. Although *u* replaced Latin ō in the earliest texts, such as the Strasbourg oaths, in the eleventh century *o* was accepted as an Anglo-Norman characteristic. In Wace it is perhaps due to the scribe, funt 223, mustrer 436, pur 102, and throughout the poem; *v* (ou) 262, 631, 635, 869, 1015, unt 312, 317, 320, 404, 711, tute 623, murir 1220, but morir 1268, sul 307, muster 258, 871. Latin *ŏ* which in central French is found in diphthong, is in this text usually found as a monophthong: pople 189, 355, 364, 368, 950, 1137; pot 1451.

U is *u* as in French, but replaced sometimes by *o*, *chescone* 5, 6.

The peculiarities listed thus far, with the exception of the fall of *i* in hiatus, correspond to those known as typical Anglo-Norman characteristics as presented by P. Meyer, Stimming, Suchier, Menger, and Tanquerey.

Consonantism

Final D and T. D may represent Latin *d* or *t:* od (apud) 1106; ad (habet) 16.

The strong pronunciation of the voiced dental in final position is indicated by the fact that the scribe, in some instances, puts a supporting vowel after it as in seconde (second) 101. Within the line: marchand 1076, but in rime, marchant 1108.

T is maintained in most instances of the third singular of the

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[7] H. Andresen, *Roman de Rou*, p. 625.

[8] Theo. Pohl: *Untersuchung der Reime in Maistre Wace's Roman de Rou et des Ducs de Normandie*, R. F., p. 338.

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perfect, we note in the rime, however, that *d* rimes with *d* and *t* with *t:* alat: donat 97–98, pread 1379, apelad 1157.

U representing vocalized *l* occurs but rarely in this manuscript, the earlier form *l* is preferred; and the early age of this manuscript is indicated by the keeping of the *l* in such words as: alme 629, salme 627, palmeient 894; dulcement 1107, saluement 925.

The contrary process occurs once where it might seem as if *u* had been consonantized to *l:* els (us = usage) 359, but it is more probable that this is nothing but a confusion in the mind of the scribe for the pronoun *els* as used in 664, 889, or it may indicate that *l* before a consonant was not pronounced.

L mouillée is indicated early as *il, ili*, later as *ill*, so *il, ili* are signs of early copying: consail 729, conseil 963, 974; failie 316, tailie 317.

There are a few cases of the loss of *r*, in various phonetic functions; *rr* is reduced to *r* in dureient 130, *tere* 599, 959, guerdon guer(re)don 32, *pr* is reduced to *r* in *pendras* 33; *quer* written for *querre* 961; and cele for *celer* 219.

The rime shows three cases of metathesis of *r* in *prendre* and as this is an Anglo-Norman characteristic as opposed to a Norman one, we believe them due to the scribe: parneit 354, perneit 1233; apernez 806.

S occurring in a consonant group within a word, has a tendency to fall, if it be not due to a confusion with round *s*, which is paleographically plausible: digner 1284, 1290, 1293, ignelement, 878, but it remains in learned or technical words such as *feste* 5. Curious is the spellingin *esglise* 975, 976.

S and *c* were of the same value to the scribe who writes almost interchangeably *ses* and *ces*. His preference is rather to write *c* for *s*.

as also sil=s'il: *Sil prist cil estranglast* 1210.

Final *s* and *z* were interchangeable for the scribe, not so for the author, as the rime shows that *s* rimes with *s* and *z* with *z*.

Peculiarities of the scribe's pronunciation may be revealed by his doubling of consonants:

larrons 571, but larons 717, compannion 699, serras 147, engainner 92, pouerrte 83, dirrai 39, hautte 232, irrez 688,

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besoinne 474, orrez (storm) 476, ottriat 751.

"The only tendency to be noted in connection with Anglo-Norman consonants is the fondness of the scribes for double consonants."[9]

H remains, but rarely, as hure (hora) 841. With herbergast 1079, and other words of Germanic origin, the *h* prevents elision.

The usual French rule of *n* before a dental, *i. e.*, *nd*, *nt*, *ns* and *m* before a labial, *mb*, *mp*, has many exceptions. They are frequently interchanged, or *m* may be omitted as in: copleinent 855.

There is interchange in: tens 275, 278, 338, vmt (ont) 322, enpres 1253, 1338, 1414, but empres 1398; nons 349, enporterai 966.

The following alterations, where they are not mere blunders, may reveal through his spelling, some of the copyist's phonetic or linguistic peculiarities: par (pan) 165,

mere (mer) 232, vous (nous) 307, nous (vous) 271, 1268, Nudiacon (mediacon) 377, pareis (degrez? he has just said "walls," *i. e.*, meiseres, 391), vous orrez (uns orages) 476, chanter (clamer 479), Liurre (Myrre) 519, son honur 658, sa honur in preceding verse, vint (vin) 1045, marche (merci), 1091, li fanc (l'enfant) 1178, un des chaithifs 666, et (en) sai (fai) 1294, la jur (la bierre?) 949, lai (la, article) 240, els (us) 359, mestier (mustier) 390, mens (mels) 674, 1323, cheitifue 1230, cal (car) 1295, que (qui) 16 times, porte (port) 868, bobeur (robeur) 1000, les poinz et les poinz (piez) colpez 705, plusque (puisque) 178, moir richem (mult richement) 969, le mer 1001. There are numerous mistakes in verb forms due to the copyist: vous alent 226, entente (eurent) 321, ureurent (eurent) 337, esteient la (jugez) a mort 465, vendre (vendrez) 311, vmt (ont) 322, la femme qui livrai . . . parlai (livra . . . parla) 411, olout (alout) 490, unt rende (rendu as in other instances) 317, fui (fu) 713, 1312, 1314, voleient (for the singular) 748, vist (vint) 521, feut (eut? fut?) 759, maneil (maneit) 815, neez 899, ni 1019 (nez), nen (veu?) 1163, remis (remest) 1178, sai (fai) 1294, ait (a) 1329,

[9] Menger, *Anglo-Norm. Dialect*, p. 81.

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corur (corust) 1410, fu nez (fu finez) 652, honurat (1146 (in rime with amout) remistrent ren (remest ren) 682, finir 614 (rime needs finer), the verb is omitted: quen sa maint 915, a serganz deueue 1275, estes vous 778, the scribe has confused es <ecce with the verb and so changed es to the plural estes agreeing with vous.

These cases, most of which are blunders, seem to indicate that our copyist did not make a sustained effort to understand what he was writing. Sometimes, he overlooks complete lines of his original, when we find a line without another one, riming with it, unless some of them may be his interpolations where the other manuscripts do not repeat and complete the line. Such are:
Que desur le feu fet aveit, 163, with which we find in MS. A.
Et ci on vessel de terre estoit.
En tut fere quites clamer, 479, lacking in MS. A.
A l'image l'aveir commandat, 678, preceding this in MS. A is:
Quant cil l'oi mielz l'en ama.
Plus l'out cher et plus l'amat, 685, lacking in MS. A.
Mis quers altre ne demande, 1208, which is completed in MS. A.
Ceo et mez deliz e ma viande.
Et a serganz deueue. 1275. MSS. A and B here not parallel.
Doint lui qu'il poisse veer. 1376.
Di se que par matin leuast, 1417, and also in MS. A.
Et la dent od lui portast.

The word order has been changed in
Vesti sa sei femme apelad, 1157, which should read:
Vesti sei, sa femme apelad.

The order of a few verses has been changed, thus affecting the meaning. Verse 61 should follow 68; verse 468 is verse 425 repeated irrelevantly.

In spite of these imperfections, our manuscript is for the establishment of a critical text, more valuable than the other two Anglo-Norman or English manuscripts.

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X

MORPHOLOGY AND SYNTAX OF THE SCRIBE

The declension of nouns is, in this manuscript, becoming confused. There are declined forms for the nominative and accusative cases, singular and plural, as in the central French of this period. Nom. Sing.: *sis peres et sa mere* 73–74, *mis corpainz* 1186, *li ostes* 1080, *la ostesce* 157, *l arcevesques* 151, *li enfez* 172, 1182, 1312, *uns emperes* 1002, *li ber* 1441, *li tolniers* 712. Accus. Sing.: *l'enfant* 188, *le mort* 799, *le oste* 1111, *le seignur* 893, *le prouost* 540. Nom. Plur.: *li clerc* 3, *li chiualer* 17, *li vilein* 18, *li dui conte* 462, *li seint angle* 630, *li hom* 780, *les niefs* 432. Accus. Plur.: *ces seinz* 245, *totes les mesures* 316, *les mariners* 386, *les treis contes*, 524 (ses plus sages barons 539). The majority of the nominative and accusative cases, however, show reduction to one case, either of the noun, or the article with it, or both. In a few cases, nouns are used without an article. Nom. Sing.: *le latin* 42, *le pere* 919, 1271, 1301, *le orage* 254, *li erceueske* 127, but 159 above, *li an* 982, *le tenz* 997, *le seint* 1439. Nom. Plur.: *les clers* 1278, but 3 above, *le bo er* 779, *la notiner* (verb plural), 256, *larrons* (no article) 679, *paiens* (no article) 661.

Imparisyllabics of the third declension have, in some instances, the *s* of the second declension: *seignurs* (vocative) 958, 1286, *li sires* (nom. sing.) 1291, *uns emperes* 1002, which is the usual form. The vocative is expressed either by a nominative: *sire* 292, *glorius reis* 1239, or by the accusative: *prodom* 1120, *seignurs* 958, 1286. The genitive is expressed by 1, the archaic genitive, the noun in the oblique case without a preposition, mostly in original Latin formulæ: *langle deu* 625, *deu amur* 65, *al non Crist* 309, *muster seint Nicholas* 871, *grace nostre seignur* 494; 2, with the preposition *a: tens as paens* 338; 3, by the preposition *de: el non de seinte charite* 1285, *el non de seinte trinite* 104. Both dative and accusative cases are found after verbs of serving and helping: *deu servir et as barons* 30, *il li aueient servi* 471, *le aueient serui* 502, *as pecheurs poet valeir* 931. Collective

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nouns are of frequent use, and have their verbs either singular or plural, with a preference for the latter, even though the article be singular: *la gent creieient* 346, . . . *saueient* 347, . . . *aurouent* 348, . . . *apelouent* 349, . . . *tote la gent firent* 1316, . . . *rendirent* 1317, . . . *amerent* 1318, . . . *onurent* 1319, *hom apelent* 377, *laltre gent feseient* 618, . . . *perdeient* 619, but in the singular: *la gent aueit* 359, *la maisnee fu departie* 1176, *sa maisnee fut* 803, *la gent fu* 655.

The article shows confusion as to declension as indicated in the declension of nouns. An exceptional form is *lai*, feminine, *lai tormente* 240. The article is frequently omitted, especially with *deble*, omitted seven times, and expressed four times, with *terre*, *mer*, with *paiens* 661, *cristiens* 661, *cristiente* 714, *destruccion* 662, *conueitise* 753, *conucite* 1081. It is usually omitted with group words: *larrons* 571, *asemblee* 1022, *paiens* 661, *hom* 377. We find contraction of the article in: *del*, 34 times, *des* 3 times, *sis* 3 times, *al* 59 times, *nel* 8 times, *as* 12 times, *el* 5 times.

The personal pronouns, nominative and accusative, are as in central French, *tu*, *vous*, *nous*, *il*, etc. The first person is *jo*. The pronominal forms established by the rime are the following: *de mei* 392, *de tei* 507, *de sei* 543, 1370. The oblique case of the masculine singular is *lui* and *li*. *Li* with elision of *i* is found in *Qui done laueit si grant don* 110, this elision was due to the scribe, as Wace, who was accurate in the use of his tenses must have had: *Qui done li out si grant don*. The possessive is *le suen* and *del son* both in the rime with *bon: le suen:bon* 712, *bon:son* 816. *Hom* is used as an indefinite pronoun, singular and plural: *Grand ioie grand feste fist hom* 1059 and *Nudiacon lapelent hom* 377.

There is a remnant of a neuter pronoun in cases not in the rime, *Si com lescristure le dit* 34, *Que li lai le puissent aprendre* 43, *Oez cum seintement le fist* 96. The demonstrative pronouns are: Mas. Sing. Nom.: *cist* 89, *cil* 107, 111, *icil* 146, *ceo* 146. Mas. Sing. Accus.: *celui* 1266, *cestui* 59. The neuter, nom, and accus. is *ceo* 410, *cil* 292, *iceo* 413. The mas. plur. nom. is *ces* 298, *cil* 414; the mas. plur. accus. *cels* 1205, *ces* 1, 408. There is a clearer distinction in the demonstrative pronouns in this text than in modern French: "*Cil demanda que ceo esteit* 532." "*Cil veiat . . . ceo dit*" 743–744.

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The demonstrative adjectives are: mas. sing. nom.: *cist* 89, *cil* 815, *cel* 399; mas. sing. accus.: *cil* 941, *cel* 140, 787, *icest* 1021: *cest* 484, 722; mas. plural, nom.: *ces* 245, mas. plural, accus.: *ces* 457; fem. accus. sing.: *iceste* 150, *cel* 176, *cele* 365, 468; fem. plural accus.: *ces* 939.

The indefinite pronoun offers a construction unlike modern French: *li un . . . li un* 9, 10, 11, 12 for modern French *les uns . . . les autres.* The adjective may or may not indicate agreement. The general tendency is for the adjectives of the first and second Latin declension when attributive to agree, but when in predicate position to remain in the oblique case. The demonstrative adjective shows the same form for masculine and feminine: *cel tens* 164, *cel ewe* 176, *cel mer* 840. Wace was, perhaps, familiar with the newer construction whereby adjectives from Latin third declension were declined on the model of those of the first and second declensions; we find, indeed, *cele, tele, quele, grande, forte* with feminine nouns. These newer may be attributed to the copyist; we find in the rime only *gref* (modifies *penitence*), *i. e., chef* : *gref* 1198–1199.

There are a few mistakes of the scribe in the agreement of the adjective; *seconde* 101 with a masculine noun, the *e* is probably a supporting vowel for the dental; *nul* 467, used with a feminine noun, *tele nature* 1446, the line has nine syllables, *tel* would restore the count to eight; twice the adjective has been used as an adverb: *petit* 41, 1251, but compare: *si poi* 1250.

Archaic forms are found in *greinnurz* 272, *primerain* 99, *greinur* 278, *greingnur* 853, *pautoner* 458, *haltime* 506.

The agreement of the past participle shows much variation. In twenty-nine cases, the agreement is not shown. The most interesting cases are the feminine participles ending in *é; sené*(*e*) 10, *empeiré*(*e*) 47, *apareillé*(*e*) 394. In this connection, Paul Meyer says: "*L'e* posttonique, en contact avec *é* tonique devient muet et souvent n'est pas écrit. Ainsi . . . le participe feminin *ée* ecrit *é* . . . rime avec des mots en *é* . . . *humbleté* rime avec *ée*,"[1] that is, in speaking of Anglo-Norman forms.

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[1] P. Meyer, Introduction to *Les Contes Moralizés*, Nicole Bozon, Frère Mineur, p. LX.

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Adverbs of manner are formed by the feminine of the adjective +*ment*. Where the masculine adjective ended in a vowel, we find no syneresis of the two vowels, *celeement* 1216, *irreement* 546, have four syllables.

VERB:[2] The first person singular appears without the ending *e* or *s*, *jo sui* eight times (*suis* three times), *jo poi* twice, but *puis* four times. The only time the first person singular of the indicative has *e* is *quide* 1262, where it must be elided in scansion, and as the form *quit* is in MS. B (lacking in MS. A), it is here not an assured form for Wace's original. Tanquerey says that Anglo-French writers used *e* between 1150–1250 A. D.[3] The third person singular present indicative is used without *e* in *aim* 31, but with *e* in *done* 13.

The first person plural ends in *om*, *um*. "Om (um) est la forme qui domine de beaucoup dans l'ecriture anglo-normande."[4] Few texts of this period offer in the same number of lines the great variety of verbs in the first and second persons plural which are found in the St. Nicholas because of the direct quotation. *Om* (*um*) is used in: *auom* 84 etc., eight times, *portom* 293, 296, *alum* 1160, *poum* 292, 564, *devom* 299, *serum* 1161, *oum* 249, *alom* 1162, *trouum* 1068, *esteium* 1242. The ending *on* appears once in *conuission* 580, perhaps due to its being in the rime with *religion*. The second person plural ends in *ez*, there is no trace of *eiz*.

The imperfect tense of first conjugation verbs ends in *out* in the singular, *ouent* in the plural. The more usual form for the plural is *oent* for Anglo-Norman speech which does not occur in this manuscript: *junout* 65, *getout* 105, *otriout* 133, the plurals are *alouent* 94, *passouent* 230, *aurouent* 348, *plorouent* 952. This change in the plural from a form in *oent* to one in *ouent* must be attributed to the scribe. In the imperfect tenses of other conjugations, the imperfect ends in *eie* for the first person singular: *voleie* 960, *aueie* 1256, 1259. The post-tonic *e* has fallen: *poei* 1195, "Un des phénomènes les plus caractéristiques de l'Anglo-Français est la disparition de la voyelle atone après

[2] Cf: F. J. Tanquerey: *L'Evolution du verbe en Anglo-Français*, Paris, 1915.
[3] Cf: F. J. Tanquerey: *L'Evolution du Verbe en-Anglo-Français*, p. 44.
[4] G. Paris, St. Alexis, p. 120.

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une diphthongue."[5] In our manuscript, the fall of this *e* is optional. The third person singular ends in *eit: aveit, viveit* 63, but, cf.: *toleit* : *beuait* 1167–1168, the third person plural ends in *eient: saueient* 347, *creieient* 346.

Verbs from Latin perfects in *ui: habui, volui, sapui*, etc., in the third person singular have *olt* or the vocalized form *out*, and not *o* nor *eu* as proved by the rime, with the exception of *poeir* which has both forms: *pout* 1030, 1375, 1438, 1444, 1470, but *pǫt* 1428, 1451, *solt* 954, 1020, 1101, etc., *volt* 361, 537, 615, 696, 724, 739, 937, 939, etc., *out* is used fifty-nine times.

Verbs with special forms are *aler:* third person singular present tense, *vait* 305, 1141, *veit* 115; third person singular *olout* 490; *doner:* present subjunctive, third person singular *doint* 1169, 1370, 1376; future, second person singular *dorras* 150; conditional, third person plural *dureient* 130; *laisser:* imperative, second person singular *les* 1201; *veer:* infinitive *veer*, preterite, first person singular *vi* 1263; *prendre* present subjunctive third person singular *prenge* 507, and the imperative second person singular *prent* 1265; *rendre:* present subjunctive third person singular *rent* 1265; *faire:* imperative second person plural *feites* 1200; present indicative, third person plural *funt* 223, 903, *font* 1017, 1024; future, first person singular *frei* 213, *frai* 704, 818, 825, 1269; imperfect subjunctive, third person singular *feist* 561, 1463; *oir:* past participle *oiz* 1485; third person perfect *oie* 161, *oi* 1115, 1311 with the fall of post-tonic *e*, imperfect subjunctive, second person plural *oissez* 789; *estre:* first person singular *sui, suis;* third person plural *sun* 9; *poeir:* first person singular *puis* four times, *poi* 1268; third person singular *poet* 7, 25, 931, 1125; *puet* is the regular form. Anglo-French prefers *poet* which is much more common with them than *puet;* third person plural *poent* 44, which corresponds to the singular, first person plural, present indicative *poimes* 1190; first person singular, imperfect *poei* 1195; third person singular preterite, *pout* five times, *pot* twice, third person singular, imperfect subjunctive *purrast* 1449; *saveir:* infinitive *saver* 27 (in the rime, and used as a substantive); first person singular present indica-

[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 153.

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tive *sai* 677, 971, 1232; first person plural, present indicative *savom* 558, 562, 632; third person singular imperfect *seueit* 492, *saueit* 693; third person singular present subjunctive *seust* 691, 1363; third person, plural preterite *seurent* 886, 898.

The discriminating use of the subjunctive shows that the poem was the work of an educated author.[6] The subjunctive is used in the principal verb with a hortatory or optative function: *Nous doint Deus* 1169, *Mort quer prent et si me rent* 1265, *Doint lui qu'il poisse* 1376, or with a potential function: *Dunt veissez hom dolent* 892; or in unfilled conditions: *Empres lur fiz . . . saillessent si nel natiners nel tenessent*, 858, 859. The subjunctive is used in the subordinate verb in clauses of purpose or intent: *Voil dire que li lai puissent* 43, *Ne voleit pas que li preudom . . . perdist.* 1288 . . . *ne seruist* 1289; in compound indefinite clauses: *que que seit* 1377; in temporal clauses: *ainz que conustre li peust* 1050, after verbs of entreaty, command, and prohibition: *Ureisons a faire . . . que deus mustra(s)t a qui . . . donast* 140, *Jo enpreerai le haltime rei que vengance prenge* 506, *Ad depree que . . . doint* 1370, . . . *que puisse* 1372, *Depreast . . . quil . . . refeist le revivre* 1306, *Rove que io face* 36, . . . *lui defendit que mes . . . ne plorast ne . . . regretast* 1029; after verbs of specification or stipulation: *tel enfant voldreient aver dunt puissent fere* 53; after verbs of striving: *ne seurent si afermer . . . ne si tenir . . . pue ne eschapast* 868–888, *vit que estre ne porreit que il eust* 1367; expressing a supposition : *Mels volsissent murir . . . que il veissent* 1220–1221.

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[6] The use of the subjunctive by Wace was the subject of a dissertation, *Der Conjunktiv bei Wace*, Richard Kowalski (Diss., Breslau), but we have not been able to find a copy of this. It is mentioned in Rom. XI, p. 632 (1882) where there is no review of it but merely the statement: "*Se rattache au travail de M. Bishoff sur le subjonctif dans Chrêtien de Troyes.*"

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XI

RIME

It has already been pointed out that Wace is one of the most careful of the Norman poets in the phonetic purity of his rime.[1] This same statement holds true for our text. The rime is rich and betrays an experienced poet. In two cases only does a word rime with itself without change of meaning and these are manifestly the copyist's error—*freit: freit* 568–569, which should be *freit: fait; servir: servir* 360–361, which should be *servir: sofrir.*

Vocalism in the Rime

Latin tonic a >e has a tendency to rime only with itself—*bonté: doné* 15–16; *parlé: apelé* 252–253.

While verbs ending in *eir* have been reduced to *er*, they do not rime with first conjugation verbs in *er* with two exceptions: *desirer: aver* 1374–1375; *conreer: chanter* 994–995. This reduction of *eir* verbs to *er* is not uncommon to Norman poets.[2]

A first conjugation imperfect ending in *out* does not rime with *out* <*habuit*, nor with a vocalized *l* as *sout*, with the exception of *Tiout: amout* 1478–1479. With *Tiout*, a proper name, the author may not have realized its consonant origin, also there are more mistakes toward the end of the poem than in the earlier lines. *Out* resulting from vocalized *olt* may rime with *olt, solt: plout* 216–217, an indication that the scribe in pronunciation vocalized the *l*.

Words ending in *u* <Latin ō, closed *o* do not rime with words from Latin *u*. This distinction is found in all the best writers of the period.

Latin *o* >*u*—*creatur: amur* 29–30; *seignur: amur* 1304–1305,

[1] T. Pohl: *Untersuchung der Reime in Maistre Wace's Roman de Rou et des Ducs de Normandie* Rom. Forschungen 11, p. 324 and fol.

[2] F. J. Tanquerey's *Evolution du verbe en Anglo-Français*, p. 393, states that: "les formes correctes dominent pendant tout le (12e) siècle; pendant les deux ou trois dernières décades on relève un petit nombre de terminaisons irregulières dont l'authenticité est certaine."

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1486–1487; *honur: iur* 222–223; *Socurs: plusurs* 606–607; *emperur honor:* 1300, 1188–1189; 26–1327. Latin *u* or *ura* >*u; ju: fu* 157–158; *aparut: socurut* 262–263; *receu: rendu* 294–295, 320–321; *suz: plus* 1158–1169; *nature: dure* 1447–1448.

An +consonant is always distinguished from *en* +consonant. Present participles from Latin second, third and fourth conjugation verbs are formed on the model of first conjugation verbs, therefore, may rime with first conjugation verbs in this form: Pohl, gives one exception to this from St. Nicholas, *venant: peneant* 1190–1191, but the form *peneant* is an emendation by Delius, as the Douce MS. has *penant*, as has also the Digby MS. These lines are lacking in MS. C.

Consonantism

The distinction between *s* and *z* has been kept in the rime. The scribe has frequently written *s* for *z*, and vice versa, but an original *z* (dental +*s*) rimes with *z*, and an original *s* with s.

T in third person singular perfect of first conjugation verbs generally remains, *aprismat: nomat* 1302–1303.

T has fallen in the third person singular perfect of *i* conjugation, *respondi: merci* 302–303; *issi: gari* 638–639 (the *t* has occasionally remained as *issit: speravi*). This rime *speravi: issit* 628–629 shows that Wace pronounced his Latin oxytonically like the French; *speravi* may be considered a sufficient rime to *issi* (*exivit*) only if it be pronounced with the primary stress on the ending = *speravi*.

The third person singular of the auxiliary has kept the *d*, *ad* 87, 99.

A study of the rime shows that the only inaccuracies in the rime are due to the negligence of the scribe. To illustrate his manner of working, we quote the following verses in which the rime word has been affected:

Plusque la messe fu finie 178.
Si sest la mere porpense. 179.

The past participle from *finer* would be *finé* +*e* for the feminine, as the feminine form of *porpensé* would be *porpensée*.

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Tut despescout les *vestement
Od ces meinz et od ses °deiz. 208–209.
*vestemenz; denz.
Que ia meinz ne i trouerez
Quant al mesurer *vendre. *vendrez. 310–311.

Deieces erent cum Diane
Iuno Venus et Minerve. 344–345.

The final *e* may have been *é*, as the Latin *Diana; Minerva* would have rimed. The case is identical with the above-mentioned *speravi* = *issi*.

A urer Diane et servir
Seint Nicholas nel volt *servir 360–361.
*sofrir as in MS. A.
Son mestier de son oile *oindre
Les meiseres et les pareis. 390–391.
*oindrez: degrez as in MS. A.

Que fu ceo dit que vous *livrai
La femme que od vous °parlai? 410–411.
*livra: °parla.

Li seint hom lur ad *respondi
Savez que la femme fu? 420–421.
*respondu.

Ceo fu la gent que Diane
Deceit par lur enchantement. 422–423.

The rime will be restored by putting the word order of 422 as the context requires:

Ceo fu Diane que la gent
Deceit par (son) enchantement.

Servi le aveient lealment
Mes malveis loer eurent 502–503.

This reading seems to suggest that the Anglo-Norman scribe

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considered the post-tonic *ent* in *eurent* as tonic, capable of riming with the adverbial suffix *ment*. These two verses are also different in MSS. A and B which offer:

servi l'avient mult leaument,
mes malvois loier lor en rend. MS. A.
Leaument l'aveient servi,
Mes malvois guerdoun lor en rendi. MS. B.

Si les contes ne fais aler
Qui tu as enprisonez. 512–513.

Rimes like *aler: enprisonez* might indicate that, contrary to the use in continental French, the infinitive *r* was no longer sounded, but this is an isolated case and the rime would be restored by reading:

Que tu as fait enprisoner.

Paleographically the mistake of *r* for *z* is obvious.

De ben fait ad len le col freit
Ensement nous as te freit. 568–569.

Freit of verse 569 should be *fait*, *re* is a reading mistake for *a* which is paleographically plausible.

Quant vint al jour que dut *finir
Que deu le volt a sei mener. 614–615.
*finer compare in 1334–1335; finat: trespassat.

Que si cil iurer *voleient
Sur limage que plege esteit 748–749.
*voleit.
Que vous frai io long plaist
Quant le hanap fut fait. 818–819.

As both words in the rime are derived from *a* +palatal, they should give corresponding *plait: fait* or *pleit: feit*.

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Al muster devant lalter vint
Od le hanap *quil sa maint. 914–915.
*qu'en sa main tint.

Li emperere le *fereit
Par maltalent lui defendit. 1026–1027.

*Fereit should have a preterite in feri as in feri: debati, 694–695.

Al tonel vint u fu le *colz
Tuz les membres entrait hors. 1096–1097.

*Cors. An Anglo scribe frequently confuses liquids *l* and *r*.

Mis compainz forment le preisat
Vers nostre seignur *orgoillant 1186–1187.
*s'en orgoillat.
Quant li enfez fui *revesqui
Il fu seinz et solfs veu. 1312–1313.

* The writing of *i* after *u* appears to indicate the French pronunciation of *u* and not to have the value of a distinct sound *i*, so in the rime words *mut: conuit* 918–919 .

Et seint Nicholas plus amerent
Et plus volentiers *l'onurent. 1318–1319.

* The preterite *honurerent* was evidently the original rime word. The scribe here, as in other instances, has given a value to *ent* which, judging from his frequent use of it, seems optional.

De la casse vit le oille surdre
Et fors de core et *serundre. 1399–1400.

* The more usual spelling according to Godefroy is *souronder*. This rime is lacking in MSS. A and B.

Desque il out ore il sailli suz
Ben sain unques nout este *puiz. 1468–1469.
*plus.

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The poet's wide vocabulary is nowhere better illustrated than in the absence of homonyms in the rime, and in the rare riming of simple with compound forms. There is only one case of homonyms in the rime, *aueir: auer* 716–717, where *aueir* means wealth and *aver* is the infinitive of the verb. In three cases simple forms are in the rime with compound forms, but in each so well chosen that they serve to improve the style rather than to weaken it—*sert: desert* 31–32; *Deudone: done* 986–987; *mene: demene* 1298–1299.

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DIPLOMATIC TEXT

The diplomatic text respects all graphic peculiarities of the manuscript including punctuation, with the exception of the distinction between long and round S. In view of their paleographic importance in tracing back misreadings of the copyist, the resolutions of all abbreviations and superscribed letters are given in italics. This copy has been collated in its entirety by Professor Beck.

De sancto Nicholao

A ces q*ui* nunt lectres aprises.
Ne lur ente*n*tes ni ont mises.
Deiuent li clerc m*u*strer la lei.
Parler del seint dire pu*r*quei.
Chescone feste est controue
Chescone a sunur gardee.
Chesconc ne poet tut sauer.
Ne tut oir ne tut veer.
Li vn sun lai li vn lectre.
Et li vn fol *et* li vn senee.
Li vn petit. *et* li vn grant
Li vn poure li vn manant
Si done deus deuersement
Diuers dons a diuerse gent.
Chescon deit mustrer sa bonte
De ceo que deus lui ad done.
Li chiualer. et li burgeis.
Et li vilein. *et* li corteis.
Deiuent en deu auer fiance.
Et honurer de lur substance.
Bonem*e*nt deiuent esculter.
Qu*a*nt il oient de deu parler
Q*ui* mels set mels deit enseigner
Et qui pl*us* est fort pl*us* deit porter

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Et q*ui* pl*us* poet pl*us* deit aider.
Et qui pl*us* ad pl*us* deit doner.
Chescon deit mustrer son sauer.
Et sa bonte *et* son poer
Et deu seruir son creat*ur*
Et as barons sainz p*or* sa am*ur*.
Q*ui* ben le aim *et* ben le sert
Bon guerdon de lui desert
Petit pendra q*ui* sert petit
Si cu*m* l'escr*i*sture le dit
Jo sui normanz. si ai a non guace.
Dit me est *et* roue q*ue* io face
De seint Nicholas en romance.
Q*ui* fist miracles bels *et* gr*a*nz.
En romanz dirrai de sa vie.
Et de ces miracles vne partie
En romanz voil dire vn petit
De ceo que n*us* le latin dit
Q*ue* li lai le puissent ap*r*endre
Qui ne poent latin entendre.
De pat*r*as fu nee de vne cite
Noble *et* riches dantiquite
Mes puis est la chose empeire.
Et ben proef tute amenuse.
Pere *et* mere out de gr*a*nt haltesce
De parente *et* de richesce.
Asez ourent. or *et* argent
Et mult viuent seintement
Et tel enfant voldreient auer
Du*n*t puissent fere lur eir.
Nient sul de lur manantie.
Mes de murs *et* de bone vie.

Line 31: "*La voyelle finale de* LO *s'affaiblit de très bonne heure . . . on ne connaît pas d'exemple ou elle ne soit pas élidée. Il semble qu'il y en ait un exemple au vers* 5 III *de St. Leger:* Il le amat, mais, M. Diez (*Altrom., Gedicht*, p. 46) a déjà remarqué que dans ces poèmes on ne rencontre pas le pour lo et qu'il faut sans doute lire: il l'enamat. (G. Paris, *St. Alexis*, p. 32 et note), but no elision is possible here, the line being divided into two symmetrical halves of 4 x 4 syllables.

49: The father's name was Epifanus et "*la sua mayre avia nom Johana*," MS. 9759, Bib. Nat., "Legenda Aurea."

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57. Tel fut cu*m* il le desirerent
Nicholas p*ar* non lapelerent
Ne eurent enfa*n*t fors sul cestui.
Tant liurent pl*us* cher ambedui.
61. Petit fut a lettres mis.
P*ar* gr*an*t entente fut apris.
Vncore petit en berz giseit
De sul la mamele viueit
65. Si iunout pur deu amur
Ne leitout que une feiz le iur.
Al mecresdi. al vendresdi.
Si lout deus de sa grace e*m*pli.
69. Q*uan*t pl*us* crut et pl*us* amenda.
Pl*us* serui deu *et* pl*us* le ama.
Ja ert bacheler tut formez.
De mante bonte alosez.
73. Sis peres p*ri*st definement
Et sa mere ensement.
De Nicholas firent lur eir. 118 Ro. B.
De quanq*ue* il purent aueir.
77. *Et* Nicholas tut departi.
Teres maisons. *et* fius vendi.
Si dona tut a poure gent
Ne fist altre reseruement.
81. Vn poures hom iloc maneit
Q*ui* iadis riches este aueit
Mais en pouerrte iert venus
De tels auom plusurz veuz.
85. Q*ui* de gr*an*t aueir quil aueient
En gr*an*t pouerte descendeie*n*t
Tels i ad qui de pouerte
Resunt venuz en gr*an*t plente
89. Cist poures aueit treis puceles.
Treis filles asez beles.
Entre els quatre nurent q*ue* p*r*endre.
N en gainner ne en despendre.

59: In Wace's original eu in *eurent* was not yet contracted, but it must have been so at the ime of our copyist, cf.: *nurent*, 91.

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De viure *con*seil ne trouerent
Si a galice nen alouent.
Seint Nicholas pitez en p*r*ist
Oez cu*m* seintement le fist
Treis nuiz a lur ostel alat
Treiz riches dons dor lur donat
Li p*r*imerain lur ad done.
P*ur* relever de pouerte
Le seconde lur ad fait trouer
Pur les treis filles marier
La terce feiz lur ad donez.
El non de seinte trinite.
P*ar* la fenestre lur getout
Deuant le lit puis sen alat
A la terce nuit cil le prist
Q*ui* l out guaitez si lui enq*ui*st
Q*ui*l ert dunt fust cu*m* aueit non.
Q*ui* done laueit si g*r*ant don.
Cil lui dit jo sui Nicholas.
Va ten ia mar en parleras.
Mes loez deu ton creatur.
Et tes filles done a seignur.
Seint Nicholas sen veit atant
Le home remist le *et* joiant
Retorne fut de pouerte.
Et ces filles de putez.
Del aueir furent mariez.
Et ben richement conreez. 118 Vo. A.
Q*ua*nt Seint Nicholas out done

94: *"On peut rapporter . . . au bas latin* GADALIS *et aux formes provençales correspondantes un mot du vieux français qui n'est que je sache, mentionné ni a plus forte raison expliqué dans aucun dictionnaire;* GAELISE, JAELISE (*impudicité, luxure*) *mot que j'ai rencontré dans trois passages où il a fort embarrassé les divers éditeurs"* (A. Tobler: Etymologies françaises et provençales, Rom. II, p. 237) The third quotation given by Tobler is *galice* (Delius St. Nich.), *". . . notre mot doit etre d'abord établie par une correction . . . la leçon* GALICE *est insoutenable."* (*Ibid.*) The reading, however, given in MS. Douce is *gaelis*, changed by Delius *to galice.* A corresponding idiom is *envoier au bordel* used in Trinity MS. Wace's St Nich.. fol. 122.

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Quanque out pur lamur de de.
Dreit a mirre son chemin tint
Quant il en la cite vint
Tut li euesque del regne.
Esteient iloc asemble.
Car li erceueske[1] mort esteit
Qui cel honur en aveit
Iloc erent si eliseient.
A qui lerceuesce dureient.
Ne ia saueient q*ui* doner.
Ne sen poeient acorder.
Çist otriout cist ne voleit.
Cist g*ran*tout cist dediseit.
Un seinz eueskes i aveit.
Qui le mest*ier* faire deveit.
Cist *com*mandat grans vreisonz.
A faire od g*ran*z afflictionz.
Que deus apertem*en*t mustrat.
A q*ui* cel euesque donast.
Demustrat p*ar* sa piete
Que dignes fut del euesche.
Vn seinz angles del ciel li dist.
Que p*ar* matin celui preist.
Qui p*ri*mereins al must*ier* veneit.
Ceo iert icil que deus eslireit.
A la porte dit il serras.
Le p*re*merain ent*ran*t pendras
Qui ert apele Nicholas.
Iceste euesche lui dorras.
Li arceuesques si le fist.
Come li angles lui dit.
Nicholas par matin t*ro*ua.
Anel *et* croce lui dona.
Vnques ni out *con*tredit.
Qui fut de grant ne petit

122: This generosity is mentioned by Dante:
"*Esso parlava ancor della larghessa*
Che fece Niccolao alle pulcelle
Per condurre ad onor lor giovinezza," Purg. XX, 31–34.

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La ostesce v il aveit ju.
V il le seir herberge fu.
Oit q*ui*l iert ordeniez.
Et en euesque posez.
De la ioie que ele oie.
Son enfant enz al bain guerpie
Q*ue* desur le feu fet aueit
De tere al cel tens feseit lom.
Vn tes veissel par aueit non.
Si fu la mere tresmulce 118 Vo. B.
Et de la ioie trespense.
Son enfant sur le feu lessa.
Le feu enprist lewe enchalfa.
Apres comenca a boillir.
Et a esmouir *et* a fremir.
E li enfez q*ui* dedenz feu.
Eut le cors tendre *et* nu.
En lewe boillant seseit.
A boillons iveit sis p*ar*neit.
Vnq*ue*s en cel ewe boillant.
Ne senti mal tant ne q*ua*nt.
Pl*us*que la messe fu finie
Si sest la mere p*or*pense
Q*ue* ele out lesse son enfant.
Einz al bain sur le feu ardant.
Du*n*c sen vint al hostel corant.
Son fiz par non recriant.
Q*ua*nt fu en son ostel entre.
Come femme tut desuee.
Son enfant t*ro*uat tut heite
En lewes boilla*n*t sein *et* le.
Dunt prist lenfant cil laportat.
Et a tut le pople le contat.
Le miracle q*ue* lui auint.

165: Godefroy gives only *pair*, s. m. *chaudron*, the reading *par* (*pan* in MS. Douce) is an older form of this word.

172: Probably confusion here with *feu* <*focus*, cf.: 168, as the miracle is about the child on the fire.

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La gent a *me*rueille le tint
Mult fu en g*ra*nt renomee.
Seint Nicholas p*ar* la contree.
Breif me serreit a retorner.
Et gref a v*us* a esculter.
Les g*ra*nz miracles et les g*ra*nz bens.
Que il fist al plusurs cristiens.
Que deus de sa charite
Et de sa g*ra*nt humilite
Chastes esteit almonerz.
Et a tuz leals *con*seillers.
La nuit veillant en vreisons.
En genulez en affliccions.
Vne femme vn e*n*fant aueit
Que de deble plein esteit.
Ses draz rompeit ses meins maniout.
Sa vie en g*ra*nt dolur vsout
Tut depescout les vestemen*t*.
Od ces meinz *et* od ces deiz.
*Qua*nt seint Nicholas la seigna.
Del deble le deliura.
Treis clercs alouent escole 119 Ro. A.
Nen frei une longe parole.
Li ostes p*ar* nuit les occist.
Les cors muscat le auer p*ri*st.
Seint Nicholas *par* deu le solt.
Semp*re*s fu la si cu*m* deu plout.
Les clercs al oste demandat.
Nel pout cele q*ui*l les mustrat.
Seint Nicholas *pa*r sa preere.
Mist les almes enz el cors arere.
P*ur* ceo que al clercs fit cel hon*ur*.

198: The original may have been *quidous* < *cogitosi*, and this uncommon word was disfigured into *que quideis uus* MS. A, *ke quidez* MS. B, *ke quidet* MS. D.

211: "*Les voyelles qui en latin ont formé des syllabes distinctes ne se fondent en général pas qu'elles aient été ou non separées par une consonne ainsi par exemple . . .* DIABLES, NIENT, etc." (Étude sur le Dialecte Anglo-Norm., J. Vising, p. 74.)

212: These three clercs lodged in a "vile," "*Cele vile estoit en leveschie S. Nicholas*," MS. 17229 fol. 125 Ro. A, Bib. Nat.

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Funt li clers la feste a son iur.
De ben lire *et* ben chanter.
Et des miracles reciter.
Seignurs vus alent par mer.
De cest baron oez parler.
Qui partut est tant socurable.
Et qui en mer est tant aidable.
Mariner par la mer passouent.
De vne tere en altre alouent.
Ja esteit en hautte mere
Aseur quidouent aler.
Si commenca la mer a emfler.
A creistre *et* a meller.
Grant vent vint *et* espesse pluie,
Que as mariners mult ennuie.
Granz fu li venz *et* li orages.
Esbai fu tut li plus sagez.
Si desplaise lai tormente tuz.
Ne valeit guerez li plus pruz.
Rompent cordes depece tref.
Fruissent keuiles de la nef.
Dunt comencent tuz a crier.
Deu *et* ces seinz. reclamer
Mult se cleiment cheistif *et* las.
Souvent dient seint Nicholas.
Socure seint Nicholas sire.
Si tels es com nus oum dire.
A tant vn hom lur aparust.
Qui od els en la nef estust.
Si ad tant od els parle
Jeo sui que tant me auez apele.
Ignel pas le orage cessat.
Et seint Nicholas son alat.
A port vindrent la notiner.
Tut sein sen vint al muster.
Ignelment al muster corurent 119 Ro. B.
Seint Nicholas iloc coneurent.

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Senz ceo que m*us*tre ne lur fust.
Si nel eurent enceis veuz.
Si en la nef v il aparut.
Q*ua*nt al peril les socurut.
A t*er*re a ses pez se mustrent.
Plurant *et* m*er*ci cr*ien*t li conustrent.
Com feitem*en*t p*ar* sa pite
Lur aueit en le mer aide.
Seint Nicholas lur respondi.
Nent io mes d*eus* u*us* ad guarri.
Graces en rendez a J*hes*u crist.
Q*ue* ceo que recontez n*us* fist.
A tel miracles *et* greinnurz.
Ad fait seint Nicholas plusurz.
Oez seign*urs* ben fait a dire
Vn tens fut de gr*an*t famine.
Q*ue* la gent naueient q*ue* mang*er*
Nen sen saueient *con*seiller
Al tens de greinu*r* cherte.
Q*ua*nt tel fait esteit de ble.
Oit seint N*icholas* vn message.
Q*ue* apres diloc a vn riuage.
Aueit plusurz niefs ariuez.
De ble *et* de form*en*t comblez.
Seint N*icholas* al port ala.
As mariners de la m*er* p*ar*la
Seign*urs* fist il io v*us* requer.
Si sui venu a v*us* preer
Q*ue* del form*en*t que v*us* portez
En cest pais n*us* est lessez.
Car de ble sumez. sosfreituz.
Mult en i ad des bosonniuz.
Sire distrent cil ne poum.
Car a mesure le portom
P*ar* mesure lauom receu.
Ensem*en*t deit estre rendu.
De alisandre portu*m* cest ble.

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297. P*ar* mesure pris *et* liuere
Ces a q*ui* le deuom liuerer
Le voldru*n*t tut remesurer
Li forme*n*z est a no*st*re seign*ur*.
301. Constantin no*st*re emperur
Seint N*icholas* lur respondi
De cest pais aez me*r*ci.
Q*ue* v*us* veez a mort turnee. 119 Vo. A.
305. Si socurz vait de vo*st*re ble.
De chescon nef q*ue* ci auez.
Sul cent mesures v*us* donez.
P*ar* tel couena*n*t le receurai.
309. Al non crist q*ui* servi ai.
Q*ue* ia meinz ne i trouuerez.
Q*ua*nt al mesurer vendre.
Liure lui vnt p*ar* tel couent.
313. Tant cu*m* il requert de forme*n*t
Ap*r*es sen vint en lur paiz.
Le forment liure*n*t as bailliz.
Totes les mesures senz failie.
317. Vnt rende p*ar* conte *et* p*ar* tailie
Vnq*ue*s mesure ne lur failli.
Ben fut cru la deu me*r*ci.
A la mesure lunt rendu.
321. Q*ue* p*ri*mes lentent receu
Et puis vmt as bailliz conte
Cu*m* ben vrent del ble done.
Et come*n*t il vnt retroue
325. Tus enloerent dampnedeu.
A dampnedeu graces rendirent.
Et del seint baron g*ra*nt los en firent
Q*ua*nt seint Nicholas fu remiz.
329. Od le forme*n*t q*ui*l out priz.
Sil dep*ar*ti *et* deuisat
Et deus cil multipliat
Tut lan en fu la gent guarie

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De la t*er*re *et* daltres g*r*ant p*ar*tie.
Et del second al g*r*ant plente.
P*ar* la v*er*tu del seint loe.
Tuz en urent a plente
Et si en vreurent asez seme
Al tens as pae*n*s q*ue* la fu.
Vrent deble g*r*ant v*er*tu
Q*ui* se feseient aurer.
Et deus *et* devesces nomer
Deu esteient cu*m* phebus.
Iupiter mars m*er*curius.
Devesces erent cu*m* diane
Iuno ven*us* *et* minerue.
La gent q*ui* en deu ne creieient.
Ne que de deu ren ne saueient.
Ymages peintes aurouent
Les nons as deus lur apelou*en*t.
Diane esteit vne diesce 119 Vo. B.
Mult deceuiance *et* m*u*lt t*r*icheresce.
Debles esteit q*ui* en te*l*e guise.
Metteit la gent en son se*r*uise
Semblance de fe*m*me p*ar*neit.
P*or* quei le pople deceueit.
En tur mirre meinemen*t*
La vrouent tote gent
Vnquore q*ua*nt seint N*icholas* fu.
Aueit la gent en els eu.
A vrer diane *et* seruir.
Seint N*icholas* nel volt se*r*uir
Limage diane brisat.
Et desconfist *et* despescat.
Le pople ostat de folie.
Et de cele mahonerie.

359: *Els* may have been consonantized by the scribe from *us* (*usage*) an abbreviation which he misunderstood. "*La consonnification de u en l est connue dans certains dialectes du nord de l'Italie.*" Anglade: Gram. de l'Anc. Prov., p. 89 note. Vocalization has not become the usual form in this MS.

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Mult fu li deble plein de ire.
Quant il perdi som empire.
Por le pople quil out perdu.
Que longement out deceu.
Mult se pena cil peust.
Que seint Nicholas deceust.
Qui sauereit plus enginner
Plus deceiure plus empirer.
Que deble que son pense.
A tut a mal faire a torne
Vne male confection.
Nudiacon lapelent hom.
A fait diane apareiller
Puis prist forme de moiller
Que semblout de religion.
De vesture *et* de facon.
En vn petit batel se mist
A vne nief nager se fist.
Qui se moueit a mer passer.
Et a seint Nicholas aler.
Les mariners ad apelez.
Si lur dist cest oille tenez.
Vus devez. mest uiz aler
A seint Nicholas vltre mer.
Son mestier de son oile oindre
Les meiseres *et* les pareis.
Si ert remembrance de mei.
Voue i sui aler i dei.
Mes ne sui ore apareille.
Ne aler od vus eisee.
Le responz fu as mariners. 120 Ro. A.
Quil le front volenters.
Quant Diane out od els parle.
Et cel Nudiacon liuree.
Sempres lurent si desperdue

377: *Mediacon* is the form given by DuCange.
397: The copyist probably saw *f'oi-t* (*feroient*) misreading *front*.

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Ne solt venuz. nuls q*ue* fu devenue
Bon vent vrent p*or* sigler
Ja esteient en halte mer.
Vne nascele i unt troue.
De *pr*odommes ben atorne.
Vne p*er*sone seinte i out
Q*ui* seint Nich*olas* semblout
Q*ui* ces de la nief apela.
Corteisem*en*t od els p*ar*la.
Q*ue* fu ceo dit q*ue* v*us* liurai
La fe*m*me q*ue* od v*us* p*ar*lai
Ditez seign*ur*s ne me mentez.
Q*ue* est iceo que v*us* portez.
E cil li distrent la verite
Q*ue* vne dame out od els p*ar*le.
Puis lui distrent del oingnem*en*t
Q*ui*l port*en*t *et* coment
Il deiuent atocher.
P*ar* les meiseres del muster.
Li seint hom lur ad respondi.
Sauez que la fe*m*me fu.
Ceo fu la gent que diane
Deceit par lur enchantem*en*t
Et si v*us* volez esprouer
Espandez loille en cel mer.
Desq*ue* loille la mer tochat
Feu p*ar*tut alumat
Contre nat*ur*e de la mer.
Virent feu p*ar*tut alumer.
Endem*en*ters q*ui*l esgardoue*n*t
Cel feu du*n*t il esm*er*ueillioue*n*t
Furent les niefs deuisees.
Et si loinz deseuerez.
Q*ui* ne purent od els p*ar*ler
Ne ceo que esteit demander

401: The period mark is the scribe's indication of a mistake.
402: *cingler* is a Norman word, Nyrop: Gram. I.
425: When this line is repeated by error it reads *cels* (line 468).

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Qui lur aueit m*us*tre les guait.
Que diane lur aueit fait.
Ne firent el mes ta*n*t siglere*n*t
Qu*i*l al port vindrent q*ui*l desirere*n*t
A seint Nicholas su*n*t venuz.
Si lui distrent q*ue* vrent veuz.
Le miracle q*ue* lur mustrat 120 Ro. B.
Q*ua*nt la mer p*or* loille alumat
Cil respondi deu loez.
Qui v*us* ceo fist q*ue* v*us* contes.
Treis contez mist fors de p*ri*son
Qui erent p*ri*s p*ar* g*ra*nt traison.
De vltre mer erent repeire.
V enceis firent enuie.
P*ur* lemperur q*ui* p*ar* g*ra*nt guere.
Aueit p*or* poi p*er*du la tere
Q*ua*nt li vrent fact cel afaire
Tut trei se mistrent al repaire.
Et vindrent al emperur.
Qui les receit od g*ra*nt hon*ur*.
P*ar* enuius *et* p*ar* felonz.
Fist puis prendre ces treis baro*nz*.
Par vn prouost pautoner.
Qui p*or* els trair p*ri*st louer
Constantin fu lemperere.
Et danz *et* p*ar* prouost ere.
Et li dui conte aueient non.
Nepocion *et* arpelion.
Et li terz vrs. tut trei a tort
Esteient la a mort
En lendemain les deveie*n*t vn p*e*ndre
Ne voleit nul rancon prendre
Espandez loille en cele mer
En chartre la nuit lapelere*n*t
Seint Nich*olas* reclamerent.
Il li aueient serui iadis.
En ses preez se erent mis.

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473. Vltre mer deiuent passer.
Por lur bosoinne espleiter.
Quant a mirre lont troue
Vus orrez les fist torner
477. Quant il durent passer la mer
Vue li vrent de deliurer
En tut fere quites chanter
Treis bachelors a mort dampnez.
481. *Et* ia a descoler menez.
En la chartre lur en membrat
Chescvn de els par non lapelat.
Que a cest bosoing le socurat
485. Ens que nul de el mort i fust.
Et il lur vint ben a bosoing.
Et si ert diloc mult loing.
Sur la mer en altre contree 120 Vo. A.
489. De rome i out meinte jurnee.
Mes angelement olout.
La v bosoignus le apelout.
Tut seueit espiritelment
493. Ore oez le raison *et* comet
Par la grace nostre seignur.
Vint en songe al emperur.
Qui les contes out en prison.
497. A lui parlat par auision.
Si lui dit ceo que gardast.
Qui les contes deliverast
Qui a grant tort esteient pris.
501. *Et* par envie en prison mis.
Serui le aueient lealment
Mes malueis loer enrent.
Si les contes dit il ne veuz.
505. Que tu en ta chartre tenz leiuz
Jo enpreerai le haltime rei.
Que vengance prenge de tei.

481: This verb is not given in Godefroy, but he gives the corresponding nouns: *decolage, decollace, decoleor (bourreau).*

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Contre granz genz combateras.
En la bateille occis serras.
Que tei et ta gent destruierunt
E chen et oisel te mangerunt.
Si les contes ne fais aler.
Qui tu as enprisonez.
Li empereres ces frea
Ignelement lui demanda.
Qui ceo esteit que a lui parlout.
Que par nuit esueiller le osout
Cil dist que Nicholas esteit.
Et le vesque de liurre aveit.
Itant dit et puis sen tornat
Al prouost vist a lui parlat.
Et par deu dist il malure
Cheitif traitur malsene.
Qui les treis contes as liez.
Et sen forfait a mort iugez.
Va: sis deliure sis deslie.
Si tu ioier uols de ta vie.
Si nes mets fors de prison.
Le cors de tei et de ta meson.
Serunt destruit hastiument
Ja naueras defendement.
Cil demanda que ceo esteit.
Qui tels manaces lui feseit. 120 Vo. B.
Qui es dist que parlas.
Cil dist io sui Nicholas
Et sui euesque demirre
Tornat. plus ne li volt dire
Constantin par matin leua.
Ses plus sages barons manda.
Et par le prouost venir fist.
Quant il venuz furent si lur dist.
Cum la nuit fu en esfrei.
Le prouost respondi de sei.
Dunt fist les contes apeler
Li emperere et demander.

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Si lur ad dit irreement.
Auez vus fait enchantement
Estes dist il enchanteur.
549. Qui me auez mis en tel freur.
Tote nuit mauez fait veiller
Et ne sai par qui manacer.
Cil se turent mot ne sonerent.
553. De tele parole se esbaierent.
E il lur dit porquei ne parlez.
Dites porquei ne responez.
Nepocion ad respondi.
557. Qui li plus sagez. et li einznez fu.
Emperere nus ne sauom.
Que respondre tei deuom.
Vnques de nus nul ne aprist.
561. Qui tel enchantement feist.
Ne sauom nul enchantement
Ne denchanter nauom talent.
Mes tant por veir dire poum.
565. Que a tort nus tenz en ta prison.
Car lealment serui te auom.
Si nus en rendez mal gueredon.
De ben fait ad len le col freit.
569. Ensement nus as te freit
Porquel benfait et ben seruir.
Nus faiz cum larrons tenir.
Ditez fist il ne celez pas.
573. Sauez vus que ceo est seint Nicholas.
Quant cil out Nicholas nome
Li vns al laltre regardee.
Lur meins vers le ciel leuerent.
577. Od halte voiz Jh'm loerent.
Seint Nicholas vnt reclame.
Dunt ad nepocion parle.
Nicholas dist il conuission. 121 Ro. A.
581. Mult ert grant religion.

557: This line has the epic cesura marked in the text by a period.

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Cil escontat qu*i*l esteit.
Et en quel liu veu laueit.
Puis lur ad dit de ses bontez.
585. *Et* de ces g*r*anz vertuz asez.
Sempres furent q*ui*te clame
Et desliurez *et* desliure
Pur seint Nicholas sel baron.
589. Q*ue* li rei vit p*ar* auision.
Li trei conte demorerent.
A seint Nich*olas* dreit alerent.
Li emperere lur chargat.
593. Grant present q*ue* il lui enveiat.
Dous chandelabres dor m*e*rueilluz.
En vn teste de or precius.
Et od peres vn vessel de or.
597. *Et* vncore p*lus* de son tresor.
Q*ua*nt li conte la venuz sunt.
Jus a ces pez a tere wnt.
Ses pez baiserent. *et* conterent.
601. Coment p*or* lui delivre erent.
Et de mort les out retornez.
Et cil lur dist deu loez.
Longe chose serreit a dire.
605. *Et* mult nuose a escriure.
Les miracles *et* les socurs.
Q*ue* li seinz hom fist a plusurs.
A tote la gent que il poeit
609. Com bon pere socureit.
A meinte gent dona sante
De mult g*r*ant enfermete
Plusurs deliura del deble.
613. Bon hom esteit *et* p*r*eciable.
Q*ua*nt vint al iur q*ue* dut finir
Q*ue* deu le volt a sei mener
Des clercs i out g*r*ant asemble.

595: W. Foerster says in commenting on *tixte* as used here by Delius and also in the Rou by Andresen, that the form should be *teste* (Zeitsch., f. r. Ph., I, p. 147). The reading here is clearly *teste*.

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617. *Qui* esteient de la contre
Et laltre gent g*r*ant dol feseient.
P*or* lur seign*ur* q*ui*l perdeient.
Vne fe*m*me la vint deuant.
621. De vne e*n*fermete sante q*uer*a*n*t
Et seint N*icholas* la seignat.
Et tute seine lenveiat
Ne demorat q*ue* vn petit
625. Langle deu entur sei vit.
Du*n*t comencat a verseiller 121 Ro. B.
Vne salme q*ui* est al salter
In te d*omi*ne speraui.
629. Atant lalme del cors issi.
E li seint angle lenporterent.
La v deu plout la poserent.
Ceo sauom ben c*er*teinem*en*t
633. *Que* en parais est hastem*en*t.
Vn sarcu de marbre ad ho*m* pris.
V le cor de lui fu miz.
Del chef de la tombe descort.
637. Vn seint oille que surt.
P*ar* le seint oille q*ue* del cors issi
Ad deu puis meint enf*er*me gari.
Vn ercheuesq*ue* out puis pose
641. En cel hon*or et* ordene.
Mes ne sai p*ar* q*ue*le acheison.
En eisel len veat lom.
Cil q*ui* fu sire de la tere
645. Se eslisat ne sai p*ar* quele guere.
Le oille a curre cessat.
Desque cil en exil alat.
Issi p*er*di len longem*en*t.
649. En la cite cel oignem*en*t.
Q*ua*nt cil vint que chace esteit.
Loille corut cu*m* il sole esteit.
Q*ua*nt seint Nicholas fu nez.

634: Not in Godefroy, *sarqueu* is the form used in MS. 412, Bib. Nat.
651: *Saliet*, the scribe has indicated his error by putting period dots under the letters he has written by mistake.

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653. *Et* de cest secle trespassez.
Grant doel en fu par la contre.
La gent en fu desconforte.
Ymages firent li plusur
657. Que il vrouent en sa honur.
En son honur *et* sa semblance
Pur auer de lui remembrance
Vne feiz vindrent de vltre mer.
661. Paiens pur cristiens rober
Mult firent grant destruccion.
Meint enmenerent en prison.
Vn de els vn ymage troua
665. Bel li fu cil enporta.
Puis demanda vn des chaistifs.
Que il en aueit mene *et* priz.
Que ceo esteit *et* que valeit.
669. Dit pur veir pru en auereit.
Forme est dist il seint Nicholas.
Ja tant cum tu laueras
Ne serras poures ne cheitifs **121 Vo. A.**
673. Vn seint est mult poestiz.
Quant cil oi mens la gardat.
Al tolneu la v il changat.
La v il son aueir asemblat
677. Vn iur ne sai com cil alat.
Al image laueir comandat.
Larrons dunc partut asez.
Sunt en la vile asemblez.
681. Senz garde vnt cel auer troues.
Ne remistrent ren tut lont aportez
Quant li tonerz repeirat.
De son auer ren ne touat.
685. Plus lout cher *et* plus lamat.
Nest merueille si dolenz fu.

666: *st* indicates the aspirate sound of an earlier dental, cf., 672 and 1230.
685: This line is out of its original place, it probably followed line 674, a rearrangement which provides for line 678.

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Que mult lui ert meschau.
Irrez fu vne verge prist.
A *gra*nt destreit limage mist.
Que son aueir deueit garder
Come si ele seust parler
Le aueir lui comanda rendre.
Ne sen saueit aillurz prendre.
De sa *et* de la la feri.
Asez longez la debati
Seint Nicholas ne volt soffrir.
Sa image longes ledenger.
Vint al larrons q*ui* departe*n*t
Laueir du*n*t co*m*pannion esteie*n*t.
Alez dist il si rendez.
Laueir que emble auez.
Si non io v*us* encuserai.
As iusteses v*us* mustrai.
Si v*us* frai les oilz creuer.
Et les poinz *et* les poinz colper.
Co*m* felonz auez ceo priz.
Que esteit en ma garde miz.
Debatu su*n*t malemen*t*
Rendez laueir ignelemen*t*.
Cil furent m*u*lt esponte
Arere vnt tut laueir porte.
*Qua*nt li tolniers out le suen.
Sauer poez m*u*lt lui fui ben.
Ap*re*s recut cristienete
P*ur* lam*ur* *et* p*ur* sa bonte
Seint N*icholas* que son aueir
Li out fait les larons auer.
Et meint altre se *con*uertirent. **121 Vo. B.**
P*ur* le miracle q*ue* envirent.
Co*n*uerti en fu la contree
Et a cristiente tornee.
Dist v*us* ai de cest paien.
Ore redirum de vn cr*i*stien.
En q*ue*le guise il volt deceiuer

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Li iudeu a q*ui* il dust auer
Vns cristienz poures esteit.
Dor *et* dargent mest*ier* aueit.
A un iueu. vint si lui dist.
De son bosoing *con*sail req*ui*st.
Q*ue* aueir voleit enpronter.
Mes naueit gueres a doner.
Li iudeu ben le *con*seillat.
Sur sa fei aueir lui a prestat.
E vn image en gage prist.
Seint N*icholas* que cil le mist.
Q*ue* a lur mest*ier* iert leue
Et de gr*a*nt men*e*re honure.
La vi*n*t le t*e*rme del auer rendre.
Cil que lout ne volt t*e*rme pr*e*ndre
Ne rendi ne t*e*rme prist.
Li iudeu vent si li dist.
Q*ue* ore son aueir li rendist.
Cil veiat *et* tut escondist.
Ceo dit q*ue* ren ne li deueit.
Ne nule ren ne li rendreit.
Tant fu la p*a*role menee
Et de ambes douz p*a*rz gr*a*nte
Q*ue* si cil iurer voleient.
Sur limage q*ui* plege esteit.
Q*ui*l quite le clamereit.
Cil le ottriat q*ui* le freit.
Ore entendez del cristien.
Coueitise fait meinte ren
Tut ceo q*ui*l deueit rondeme*n*t.
Out ensemble estreiteme*n*t.
Si len clost en vn baston.
Puis si liad si en viron.
Q*ue* nuls hom ne sap*e*rceut.
Q*ue* ia aueir dedenz i feut.
Q*ua*nt vint la t*e*rme de la lei.
Son baston portat ouec sei.
Q*ua*nt al iurer se aprimast.

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Al iudeu al poi*n* le liuerast.
Puis iurat q*ui*l lui rendeut. **122 Ro. A.**
765. Tut iceo qui lui deust.
Ap*re*s iceo rep*ri*st son baston.
Si sen t*or*na vers sa meison.
Le iudeu fu dolenz *et* laz.
769. Asez maldit seint Nicholas
Mult le blamout *et* si criout.
Q*ui*l nert pas tel cu*m* hom contout.
Q*ua*nt li cristien sen alout.
773. Od son baston quil portout.
A chemin tel somoil li prist.
Q*ue* il morut si il ne dormist.
Einz el chemin dormir lestut.
777. En trauers la rue si jut.
Estes v*us* iloc vn char errant.
Le bouer q*ui* vindrent deua*n*t
Ne porreient li hom t*re*sturner.
781. Ne les boes del char arester.
Sur le dormant le char passat.
Mort fu *et* le baston brisat.
Et lor q*ue* dedenz ert i chai.
785. Semp*re*s i ont leue g*ra*nt cri.
Tut i coruren p*ur* veer.
Cel hom mort *et* son auer.
Q*ui*l aueit al baston encloz.
789. Du*n*t oissez m*e*rueillus loz.
De seint Nicholas le baron.
Q*ue* li out fait tele dem*us*treison.
Car demustre out apertem*en*t.
793. Q*ue* cil out erre malement.
Este v*us* le iudeu venu.
Corant tost a cel liu
Seint Nich*olas* form*en*t amat.
797. Q*ue* ceo out fait si liuerat.
Q*ue* cristien deuendreit.
Si reuiure le mort feseit.
Semp*re*s li hom reuesqui.

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801. *Et* li iudeu se conuerti.
Baptize fu. *et* sa maisnee.
Fut od lui baptizee.
Et li reuesq*ui* recontat.
805. Cu*m* ver*s* le iudeu ourat.
Oez seign*ur*s si ap*er*nez.
A rendre ceo q*ue* v*us* deuez.
Nul ne deit chose voer
809. Q*ui*l ne voile rendre *et* ot*ri*er.
Car cil mesmes se dement. 122 Ro. B.
Q*ue* ceo voue quil ne rent.
Sauez q*ue* seint Nicho*la*s fist.
813. Vn hom lui voast *et* p*ro*mist.
Vn vessel dor a doner.
Cil hom maneil vltre mer
Il fist fere vn hanap m*ul*t bon.
817. Vn g*ra*nt masse i mist del son.
Q*ue* v*us* frai io long plaist.
Q*ua*nt le hanap fut fait.
Ceo dit q*ue* vnq*ue*s ne vit meillur
821. Ne si ben fait ne de tel tur
Mult li fu bel m*ul*t lui pesat.
A retenir le coueitat.
Cest hanap dit il retendrai.
825. Vn altretel faire en frai.
D*un*t ben ne porrai aquiter.
Et a seint Nicholas doner.
Du*n*t fist faire vn altre vessel.
829. Asez ben fait *et* asez bel.
Mes pire et pl*us* leger
Et meinz valut q*ue* li p*ri*mer.
Du*n*t fait son eire ap*re*ster.
833. *Et* son atur a mer passer
Aler a seint Nicholas.
Porter ad fait ces .ll. hanaps
Mena sa fe*m*me *et* vn e*n*fant.
837. Q*ui*l aveit ia asez g*ra*nt
Od laltre gent ent*ra*t en mer

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Si comencent a sigler.
*Qu*ant e cel mer p*r*ofond furent
A vn hure q*ua*nt mang*er* durent.
Le meillur hanap le pl*us* cher
Fist auant t*ra*ire a son mang*er*
Son *com*mandat de la mer
P*re*ndre al hanap as meinz lauer
Cil de la nef fors se estendi.
Od tut le hanap fors chai.
Tut liur*en*t sa gent dep*er*du.
Si lur fu viz q*ui* nee fu.
Este v*us* p*ar* cele mer gr*an*t plur
Grant marrem*en*t *et* gr*an*t dolur.
Gr*an*t dolur fist li pere.
Mult greingn*ur* fit la mere.
Crient *et* plurent *et* guaim*en*tent
Copleinent sei si se dementent.
Rumpent cheueus depescent draz. 122 Vo. A.
Mult reclaiment seint Nicholaz.
Emp*re*s lur fiz en mer saillessent.
Si nel notiners nel tenessent.
Souent chair souent pasmer.
P*ur* la dolur de lur fiz cher.
*Qu*ant reueneient de palmeison.
Lur fiz apelouent p*ar* son non.
Et gardouent la v il chai.
Od gr*an*t pleinte od gr*an*t cri.
A tant vent espessat al tref.
*Qu*e fist pl*us* tost cure le nef.
Dreitem*en*t su*n*t al porte venu.
V cil esteient esmeu.
A t*er*re su*n*t ignel pas.
A muster vont seint Nicholas.
Le hanap porterent dargent.
Qui estait fait derainem*en*t.
Veilles *et* afflictions firent.
Al alter vindrent cil offrirent.
Mes li hanap si resorti.

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877. Que a la terre a lur piez chai.
Et cil lont ignelement repris.
Arere lont sur lalter miz.
Et le hanap si halt sailli
881. Qui tres ens el quer chai.
Mult furent cil esponte.
Esbai *et* mult effreie.
Le hanap derechef pristrent.
885. Od pour sur lalter mistrent.
Vnc ne seurent si afermer.
Ne si tenir ne si garder.
Que de lur mainz ne eschapat.
889. Entre els halt ne volast.
Tuz cil qui cele chose virent.
A grant merueille se esbairent.
Dunt veissez hom dolent.
893. Le seignur *et* la femme ensement.
Plorent *et* palmeient *et* criouent.
Bateient culpe deu clamouent.
Clamouent sei pecheurs *et* laz.
897. Souent apelerent seint Nicholas
Ben seurent que pur lur pechez.
Esteit lur fiz en mer neez.
Et lur offerande refuse
901. *Et* del alter regetee.
Nousont mes garder vers lalter 122 Vo. B.
Les clercs apelent ne funt el.
De chef en chef lont conte.
905. Coment il aueient ouere.
Del veissel quil ourent toleit.
Pur ceo que tant ben fait esteit.
Quant il se furent fait confez.
909. Ne demurat gueres aprez.
Seint Nicholas sanz mal *et* sanz mort.
Le menat ben *et* seint al port.
Et desque al muster le menat.

885: While the reading of this line presents no difficulty, the faulty grammar shows that the scribe has made a mistake. The spelling *pour* does not occur again in this word.
902–903: The rime r : l is frequent in Anglo-French.

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V cil pere *et* mere trouat.
Al muster deuant lalter vint.
Od le hanap q*ue*n sa maint.
Sur le alter le mist cil beisat.
Trait sei arere sil leissat.
Vnq*ues* le hanap ne se mut.
Q*ua*nt le pere son fiz conuit.
Et la mer *ver*s lui alerent.
G*ra*nt ioie fire*n*t deu loerent.
Et tei seint Nicholas ber
Du*n*t lur contat cil de la mer.
Q*ue* seint Nicholas lout garde.
Et saluem*en*t a port mene.
Getro vns hom de g*ra*nt bonte
Mist iadis en vne cite
Q*ue* escordance fut apele.
Del seint oid la renomee.
Q*ue* m*u*lt esteit de g*ra*nt poeir
Q*ue* as pecheurs poet valeir.
Volente out q*ue* a lui irreit.
Si sa fe*m*me le *con*senteit.
Sil requerreist que deu preast.
Q*ue* fiz v fille lur donast.
Eufrosine sa muiller
Ne volt mie leisser.
Ne nel volt mie retener.
En ces oreisons volt *par*ter
La dame lui dona conge
Sil cil eire ad apareille.
Getro esteit asez mananz
De auers de rentes de serianz.
Richem*en*t *et* od bone corage
Alat en cel pelrunage
Q*ua*nt il en la cite entrat.
Pleinte g*ra*nt *et* g*ra*nt plur i trouat.
Car seint Nicholas iert trouez. 123 Ro. A.

941: *eire<iter.*

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Et en la iur en*terre* posez.
Tut le pople *et* tut le clerge
Trouat p*ur* lui desconseille.
Dolent esteient si plorou*ent*
Et ces gr*a*nt bontez rem*em*brouent.
Q*ua*nt Getro solt que mort esteit.
Seint Nich*ola*s q*uil* quereit.
Mult fu t*ri*stes m*ul*t li pesat
Tuz les mestrez clercs asemblat.
Seign*ur*s dit il p*ur* deu merci.
De altre tere sui venu ici.
P*ar*ler voleie od cest baron.
De mes pechez quere p*ar*don.
Cil respondez n*us* ne sauom
Q*uel* *con*seil doner te puissom.
Getro lur dit dez draz.
Me donez de seint Nicholaz.
Si enporterai en ma terre
Meillurs reliques ne puis q*uerre*.
Si ma fe*m*me auer le poeit
Moir richem les gardereit.
Le chapelein le gr*an*terent.
Des draz ne sai q*ue* li donere*nt*.
Getro de iurne en iurne.
Est reuenu en sa contree.
P*ar* le *con*seil de sa muiller
Fist vne esglise edefier.
Vne esglise bele fit faire
Des draz i mist p*ur* saintuaire
Q*ue* del seint baron aportat.
Apolonies le dediat.
Apollonies prodom esteit.
La croce *et* leuesche aueit
Ni ert pas vncore li an passez.
Getro out vn fiz si fu neez.
En septe*m*bre en cel iur dreit.

984: *decembre* in other MSS. Arsenal, Digby, Douce, Trinity.

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985. Feste seint Nicholas esteit.
Le fiz apelerent dendone
P*ur* ceo que deus lou*t* done
Getro viueit lealment.
989. *Et* eufrosine ensement.
Seint Nicho*la*s form*en*t amou*en*t
Et se*r*uieient *et* honurouent.
Al miels q*ui* vnq*ue*s poeient.
993. Feste sein*t* Nicholas form*en*t fesoient
Del clercs richem*en*t conreer 123 Ro. B.
De fere lire *et* de chanter.
Deudone crut et amendat.
997. Si cu*m* le tenz auan*t* alat.
Mes puis en v*r*ent g*ra*nt dolur
G*ra*nt marrem*en*t *et* g*ra*nt t*ri*stur.
Car bobeur lenfant emblerent
1001. Vltre le mer loinz lamenerent.
Vns emperes la chatat.
Q*ui* paenz ert. mes mult lamat
De jor de la feste al baron.
1005. De q*ui* miracles n*us* p*ar*lom
Sil comencat a suspirer
Apres le suspir a plorer.
Li emperere ve*r*s lui gardast
1009. Vit le plorer si lui demandast.
Q*ue* as q*ue* plores deuant mei.
Sire dit il faire le dei.
Q*ua*nt me remem*br*e de ma gent.
1013. Q*ui* vnt p*ur* mei g*ra*nt marrement.
Et g*ra*nt dolur *et* g*ra*nt ennui.
Car il ne seuent v io sui.

991: The father built "*une chapele de S. Nicholas en son manoir . . . et cel lieu si estoit assis deles la terre des Agarains et Dieudonne fu une fois pris des Agarains. Et len lit ailleurs qe celi jouuencel fu de Normandie et ala outre mer et fu pris du Soudant* (Sultan) *e le fesait batre uent devant li. . . .*" Dieudonne remembered the saint on his day, fell into a deep sleep . . "*quant il sesveilla il se trouva en la chapelle de son pere.*" MS. 241 fol. 13 Ro. b, Bib. Nat.

1001: Dieudonné was stolen "*de Basilio ab Agarenis facto captivo et abducto in insulam Cretensium.*" Method. B.

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Emble lur fui dolent en sont
Et en cest iur gr*a*nt feste font.
De seint Nich*ola*s vn seignur
Et io fui ni a cest iur.
Gr*a*nt feste solt fere mis pere.
A icest iur ouec ma mere.
Mult vn hui fait gr*a*nt asemble
Des clercs de tote la contree.
Q*ui*l font chanter halt *et* bas.
Ben *et* bel p*ur* seint Nicholas.
Li emperere le fereit.
P*ar* maltalent lui defendit.
Q*ui* mes deuant lui ne plorast.
Ne que sa gent ne regretast.
Deudone ne se pout taire.
Traist sei ensuz. ne sout el faire.
Od tut le hanap q*ui*l tint.
Seint Nich*ola*s deuant lui vint.
Deudone prist si le menat.
A escorande lenportat.
Vncore ert sis pere al muster.
Tut sul remis p*ur* deu preer
Portes closes dedenz ourout.
Et seint Nicholas reclamout.
Q*ui* feste esteit a cel iur. 123 Ro. A.
P*ur* son fiz iert en gr*a*nt t*ri*stur
Et n*us* deuant lui deudone.
Seint Nich*ola*s lout amene.
Vncore q*ui*dout estre vltre mer.
Et al paleis le vint porter.
Al mang*er* que seruir deueit.
Od le hanap que vncore teneit.
Q*ua*nt Getro de vreisonz leuast.
Asez longeme*n*t le gardast.
Ainz que conustre li peust.
Q*ue* ceo son fiz dendone feust.
Mes q*ui*l out enters*ce*
Corut v*er*s lui cil ad beise.

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Chescon dels *gra*nt ioie fist.
Du*n*t voat Getro *et* promist.
Que chescon an tant c*um* viuereit.
Feste seint Nicholas freit.
Du*n*t menat son fiz a maison.
*Gra*nt ioie *et gra*nt feste fist hom.
Eufrosine en fu mult lee
Que deuant ceo iert m*u*lt coruce
Du*n*t ad deudone reconte
Cu*m* seint Nicholas lout amene
DE vltre mer en si poi de vre.
La mere loit de ioie plore.
Chescon an puis q*ui*l vesq*ui*rent.
La feste seint Nicholas firent.
Deuant cels ne trouu*m* pas.
Que ser*vire*nt seint Nicholaz.
De faire feste *et* de honurer
De clers faire lire *et* chanter.
De maint liu *et* de maint tere
Vindre*n*t gent le cors seint req*ue*re.
Et seint Nicholas depreer.
Et faire offerande a son muster.
Vn marchand se aparillat
De aler en seint veie entrat.
Od *gra*nt aueir quil portat.
A vne nuist se herbergast.
Li ostes q*ui*l out herberge
Del aueir out *gra*nt coueite.
P*ar* nuit leua cil estranglast.
Puis les me*m*bres li trenchast.
*Qua*nt p*ar* peces lout detrenche
En vn tonel lad musce.
Sil salat en tel endreit 123 Vo. B.
Come char que mang*er* deit.
*Qua*nt ilsi lout fait sil guerpi.
A son lit vint si sen dormi.
Seint Nich*ola*s q*ue* cil quere*n*t.

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A q*ui* marche aler voleit.
P*ar* deu *et* p*ar* sa g*ra*nt ver**tu.**
1093. Al ostel vint v le mort fu.
Cu*m* chiualer richement.
Et aparille corteisement.
Al tonel vint v fu le cor**z.**
1097. Tuz les membres ent*ra*it hor**z.**
Sis posa tuz la v il furent.
Tut ensem*en*t cu*m* il durent.
Ita*n*t li hom mort reuesq*ui.*
1101. Mes pas ne solt ne ne senti.
Q*ui*l eust este occis.
Ne q*ui*l fut al tonel miz.
Car plaie ne sur sanure
1105. Nout en en son cors ne blesceure
Q*ua*nt li seint out od lui p*ar*le.
Et dulcem*en*t lout *con*forte
Ala sen *et* li marchant.
1109. Remist desq*ue* al iur dorma*n*t.
Al matin leuat sil apelat
Le oste p*ar* non cil saluat.
Conge prist aler sen voleit.
1113. Car longe veie a fere aueit.
A g*ra*nt me*r*ueille ses bai.
Li pechere q*ua*nt il oi.
Leuat sus si li dist
1117. P*ur*quei *et* coment il le occist
Et q*ui*l out tut descolpe.
Et al tonel mis *et* sale.
Prodom dit il jeo te tuai.
1121. Tes os q*ua*ssai ta char salai.
Mult est poant seint Nicholas.
Et socurable a q*ui* tu uras.
Ben deit lom requer *et* preer

1091: *Marché* (*foire* in Mod. French), *Merci*, MSS. Digby, Douce. *Merchi*, MS. Arsenal. *Mustier*, MS. Trinity.

1098: For *fuerunt* or *fuerant*.

1104: *soursaneure, i. e., cicatrice* is the form given by Godefroy. The form *sursaneure* is the earlier form.

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Li seint q*ue* si ben poet aider.
Q*ua*nt li marchant lentendi.
Ad damnedeu graces rendi.
Al oste dit que ren ne sout.
Mes itant q*ui* nen out
Vn chiualer bel *et* gent.
Q*ue* lout *con*forte seintem*en*t.
Du*n*t firent paiz si sacorderent. **124 Ro. A.**
A seint Nicholas ens*em*ble alerent.
Chescon p*ur* son peche preat.
Q*ue* deus ceo crei lur p*ar*durat.
Vn enemi auom mortel.
A tut le pople est c*om*munel.
Ceo est deble q*ui* de enuie.
Est tut tens pleine de boisdie
Q*ua*nt hom pl*us* sert creatur.
Tant le vait debles entur.
P*ur* deceiuer *et* enginner.
P*ur* desturber *et* p*ur* desuer.
Vns hom maneit en lombardie
Asez esteit de bone vie.
Da*m*pnedeu serueit *et* amout.
Ces seinz *et* ces seintez hon*ur*at.
Seint Nicholas meiment.
Amou*t et* cherisout form*en*t
Chescon an feseit asembler
Clercs a la feste p*ur* chanter.
Cunrai lur aparillout.
Et ben a chescon del son donout.
La vint le iur q*ui* deueit
Faire la feste qu*il* soleit.
P*ar* matin ainz iur leuad.
Vesti sa sei fe*m*me apelad
Leuez suz dit il leuez suz.
Dame nest tenz de dormir p*lus*.
Alum al se*r*uise al muster
Q*ua*nt n*us* serum al comencer
Volenters dist ele alom

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Mes nen ai vn auision
Que anoit mad mult effreie.
Et vncore en sui esponte
Car mei iert vis que vns leon veneit
Qui ma mamele me toleit.
La char mangout le sanc beuait.
Ore nus doint deus que ben seit.
Quant il eurent issi parle.
Al muster sunt ambedouz ale.
A deu conmandat lur ostel.
Et lur enfant et lur chastel.
Quant le matin fu pece ale.
E li solail fu leuee.
La maisnee fu departie.
La maison vrent guerpie.
Ni out remis si li fanc non. 124 Ro. B.
Qui tut sul gardat la maison.
A la maison vint enz entrat
Del pain lalmone demandat.
Li enfez li dit dut venez.
Que este vus et coment alez.
Dunt respondi li enemiz.
Jo sui de mult lontain paiz.
Mis cornpainz formeṇt le preisat.
Vers nostre seignur en orgoillant.
Pur ceo que iert en grant honur
Senorgoillat contre son seignur.
Puis ne poimes fere pez.
Ne ferom ceo cre io iamez.
Puis que io fui desherite.
Ne poi vnques estre acorde.
Et li sire est de grant poeir
Ne poei vers lui poer aueir
Tant en ai oscis et murdrei.
Nes auerai mes espeni.
La penitence en face tant gref
Que ia nul iur ne treite a chef.

1199: *traire a chief, i. e., terminer*, cf.: Godefroy.

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Ne feites plus demorer
Don mei del pein les mei aler
Mult par est deble enginnus.
Mult se peine de enginner nus.
Mult se entremet de desturber.
Cels qui veit deu honurer.
Quant li enfes out aporte
Le pain que cil out mande.
Mis quers altre ne demande
Li deble vers lui alast
Sil prist cil estranglast.
Quant li seruant le mort truuerent
Mult lur pesat *et* mult plurent.
Asez tost fu noncie al pere.
A *qui* que dol en fist la mere.
Vnques plait al muster nel tindrent
Celeement a maison vindrent.
Quant lur enfant estrangle virent
Quel merueille si grant doel firent.
Grant marrement unt *et* grant doel.
Mels volsisent murir lur uoel.
Quil veissent lur fiz mort.
Ne quident mes auer confort.
Li pere plure *et* grant pleinte fait.
Et la mere les cheuels destrait. 124 Vo. A.
Et dit las mai malure
Ahi deus cum male destinee.
Et deus cum grant mesauentures.
Tant estei ere lee *et* seures.
Ore ai tote Ma ioie perdue.
Lesse cheitifue mal venue.
Mon songe dei ben auer proue.
Ben ore en sai ore la verite.
Qui leus qui mon traiant perneit.
Et que le sanc de mei beueit.
Fu ben dreit signifiance
Que aueraie grant pesance
Mon sanc but *et* prist mon traiant.

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Cil q*ui* ad occis mon enfant.
Glorius reis de parais.
Seint Nicholas p*ur* quei soffriz.
Q*ue* vost*re* enfant p*er*dissom
Q*ua*nt a ton s*er*uise esteium.
La mere le dementout.
Le cors teneit cil enbracout.
G*ra*nt doel aueit p*ar* la meison.
Q*ui* dolent si li pere non.
Las mei dolent fait li che tif.
Q*ue*l doel est que io sui vif.
Et d*eu*s tant fu lee q*ue* io loi.
Et deus me mad dure si poi.
Ma ioie mad dure si petit.
Ore ai grant doel veir deit il q*ue* dit.
Enp*r*es g*r*ant ris ad m*u*lt g*r*ant plur
Ap*r*es g*r*ant ioie g*r*ant t*r*istur.
Vncore hui matin al iur.
Naueie io doel ne dolur.
G*r*ant mal mest venu en poi dure
D*eu*s quel peche mest coru sure
Naueie od mei nul enfant.
Et cestui sul amoue tant.
P*er*du ai mon fiz *et* mon eir
Et mes altre ne q*ui*de aueir.
Bel fiz cher tant mar n*us* vi.
Mort q*ue* demores vieien si me osci
Mort quer p*r*ent, *et* si me rent.
Celui du*n*t ai le quer dolent.
Bel fiz de ceo sui angoissuz.
Q*ue* io ne poi morir pur nuz.
Seint Nicholas que enfrai.
De mon enfant que p*er*du ai. 124 Vo. B.
Le pere *et* la mere plorouent.
Pleinent sei si se palmouent.
Q*ua*nt il eurent asez plore.
En la chambre vnt le cors porte
Et a serganz deueue

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Que ia nul mal semblant ne front.
Del doel *que* de lur enfant vnt.
Pur les clers q*ui* ses maierent.
Et les clers vindrent, si dignerient
As tables erent ia asis.
Et deuant els le manger miz.
Et as hanaps aueient vin.
Este v*us* al vs un pelerin.
Q*ui* ad le digner demande.
El non de seinte charite
Seignurs ceo fu seint Nicholas
Plein de pite ne voleit pas.
Que li prodom son fiz perdist.
Ne il naltre q*ui*l seruist.
Quant il out le digner roue
Et li sires lout enz mene.
Ne puis dist estraitement.
Digner ouec presse de gent.
Et ta chambre manger me sai.
Cal altrement ne mangerai.
Li prudom ne se voleit retraire
Del almone quil voleit faire.
Le pelerin ouec sei mene
En sa chambre la plus demene
V le cors del enfant giseit.
Que le pere musce aueit.
Seint Nicholas saprismat.
P*ar* la le prist. cil nomat.
Puis depreast nostre seignur.
Que il p*ur* la sue amur
Et p*ur* lui refeist le reuiure.
Estez v*us* lenfant sain *et* deliure
Leuat sus son pere apelat.
Sa mere prist cil enbracat.
Seint Nicholas ses vani.
Que nul nel vit, ne nel oi.
Quant li enfez fui reuesqui.
Il fu seinz *et* salfs veu

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Et la chose fui conue.
Que i de lui esteit auenue.
Tote la gent g*ra*nt ioie firent 125 Ro. A.
1317. *Et* g*ra*nt loenge a deu rendirent.
Et seint Nicho*la*s pl*us* amerent.
Et pl*us* volent*ier*s lonurent.
Ben iert sa feste enceis garde.
1321. Puis fut itreis tant celebre
Ben esteient li clers serui
Puis furent mens *et* pl*us* cheri
Ben deuom bon seign*ur* amer
1325. *Et* ben seruir *et* honurer
Q*ui* ben *et* bel sert no*st*re seign*ur*.
Ben tost auera preu et hon*ur*.
Bon sire son serf pas ne vblie
1329. Q*ua*nt veit q*ue* ait mest*er* de aie.
P*ur* ceo que cil laueit ame.
Seint Nicholas *et* honure.
Li mustrat q*ui*l amout.
1333. *Et* q*ui* de lui remembrout.
Puis q*ue* seint Nicho*la*s finat.
Et de ceste vie trespassat.
Fu son cors tenu en cherte.
1337. *Et* en m*u*lt g*ra*nt auctorite
Defors mure enp*re*s la cite
Out vn muster d antiq*ui*te.
La fist lom le cors enseuelir
1341. Moines i out p*ur* deu servir
De la tombe v le cors giseit
Vne manere doile isseit.
La gent q*ue* nul mal aueient
1345. Si oigneient si garisseient.
Li seinz se laueient p*ur* seinte
Et li malade p*ur* sancte.
Meint Miracle iad d*eus* fait.
1349. Meint palacion *et* meint *con*treit.
Meint feurus *et* meint engrote.
Retente p*ar* cel oile sancte

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Ni out baron *en* tote la tere
1353. P*ur* ren q*uil* saueint fere
Que le cors peust remuer.
Ne en sa contree porter
Mes d*eus* ne lur volt *con*sentir.
1357. Ne ne lui vint a pleisir.
Li reis q*ui* out en poeste
En mirre *et* tote le regne
I enuead vn son baron
1361. Vn prodom p*ar* respison.
Si ia le cors aueir peust **125 Ro. B.**
P*ar* nul engin q*ue* vnq*ues* feust.
Cil vint vnq*ues* nel atochast.
1365. Ne vnques parler ni osast
Q*uan*t vit q*ue* estre ne porreit
Que il eust ceo q*uil* querreit
Seint Nicho*las* ad depree
1369. *Que* se li plait p*ar* sa pite
Li doint alcone ren de sei.
V char*s*. dens. v os. v dei.
Qui veer puisse *e* beiser.
1373. Ne de cest lui allurz porter.
Naueit de ren tel desirer
Ne ren ne pout de li auer
Doint lui q*uil* poisse veer
1377. *Et* beiser de lui que q*ue* seit.
Car ren est q*ue* tant coueit.
Li seint oi q*ue* cil pread
Si li dist ceo q*uil* desirast
1381. Li prodom io v*us* ai dist
Od tut vn vesselet petist.
Vint al segrestain si lui dist.
Qui de oile lui departist
1385. *Et* cil ad le vesselet pris.
Del oile lui ad dede*nz* miz.
Et puis li ad sa main tendu.
Et il lad homblem*ent* receu.
1389. Q*uan*t il le tint dede*nz* gardat.

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Vn des dens del seint i trouat.
Lee fu. vnq*ue*s nout este si.
A dampnedeu graces rendi.
1393. *Et* al seint du*n*t il ad le dent
Souent la baisat forment.
Mult lout cher *et* gr*a*nt ioie en fist.
En vne casse de or la mist.
1397. *Et* sur vn alter la posa
Semp*re*s q*ua*nt il len garda.
De la casse vit le oille surdre
Et fors decore *et* serundre.
1401. Du*n*t lad en vne paile pose
Et mult estreit envolupe.
P*ur* loile faire tenir
Q*ue* mes ne sen peust issir
1405. Q*ua*nt il pl*us* lestreinst *et* coueri
Tant corut pl*us et* espandi.
Vnq*ue*s ne sen solt ta*n*t pener.
De lier ne de enuoluper 125 Vo. A.
1409. Q*ui* vnq*ue*s retener peust.
Q*ue* tut tens loille ne corur.
Du*n*t com*enc*a a deesperer
Q*ue* la dent ne porreit porter.
1413. Tant la garda *et* ta*n*t la tint
Q*ue* enp*re*s la vespre la noit vint.
En vne boiste la ferma.
Mult estreitem*en*t le garda.
1417. De si q*ue* p*ar* matin leuast.
Q*ua*nt la noit e*n* dorma*n*t se iut.
Seint Nicho*la*s lui aparut.
Q*ue* en sa maison le dent portat.
1421. Deuant lui vint si lui m*us*trat.
Puis ad dit ore tu amiz.
Io te ai fait ceo q*ue* tu q*ue*siz.
Et va *et* beise ma dent.

1401: Masculine or feminine in gender in old French this meant a rich cloth of gold from Alexandria. It had lost the classical association of the Latin neuter, *pallium*.

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Mes tu nenporteras nent.
Ne puis estre deuisez.
Ne nul membre deseuerez.
Lom ne me pot nent departir
Jo ne puis pas consentir
Quant il out ceo dist cil guerpist.
Cil le esueillat del lit saillit.
La dent quist la v il lout miz
Ne la trouat car ele ert priz.
Dunt solt ben nent ne dotant
Que seint Nicholas le enportant.
Et que il out a lui parle.
A merueille la a preise
Quil ne pout porter la dent.
Ne qui le seint ne li consent.
Oez que nus trouom en lisant.
Que li ber fist en viuant
Vn hom esteit palacinus
Tant ert feble tant dolerus.
Ne pout sur ces pes ester
Ne ces mains a son chef leuer.
Palacin est de tele nature.
La v il prent longement dure.
Ja des membres v hom laurast.
Nule ren faire ne pvrrast.
Si li fait les membres secher
Quil ne pot ren aider
Vns hom que aueit cest enfermete
Si ne poeit aueir sancte.
De vne vile v il miz aueit. 125 Vo. B
Areresune apele esteit.
Fut a seint Nicholas mene
Sur vn chiual fut aporte
Li seint hom al muster vrout.
Quant resine esteit si iunout.
Cil que le malade aportat.
Seint Nicholas pur lui preat.
Que deu preast *et* quesist.

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Que cel malade sein feist.
Sauez q*ue* seint N*icholas* fist.
Del oile de lampe prist
Si en oint le cors environ.
Et fist a deu vn vreison.
Desq*ue* il out ore il sailli suz.
Ben sain. vnq*ues* nout este puiz.
Cil q*ui* ainz ne pout aler
Ne se mouueir ne retorner.
Et q*ui* aueit le palacin.
Tut sein tint son chemin.
Et q*ui* laueit guari p*ar* sa grace
Qui fait le liure mestre guace
*Qui*l ad de seint Nicholas feit.
De latin en romanz estreit.
Al oes Rob*er*t le fiz tiout.
Qui sei*n*t Nicholas mult amout.
Mult auereit longes apenser.
Qui en romanz voldreit conter.
Et torner en *con*sonanc*ie*.
Les g*r*anz miracles *et* sa vie.
Ne n*us* ne trouom pas escriz.
Ne n*us* nes auom tost oiz.
Deprevm deu n*ost*re seignur
Que cest seign*ur et* p*ur* sa amur
N*us* doint de nos p*e*ches p*ar*don
Et ven'r a *con*fession.
Que n*us* od deu regner poissom.
IN secula seculo*rum*. Amen. **AMEN.**

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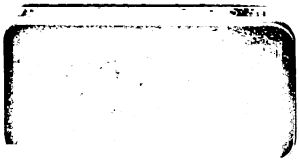

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